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TAMIL CULTURE

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An Encyclopaedia of Tamil Culture

M. RUTHNASWAMY

Encyclopaedias or dictionaries of knowledge appear when there is a sufficient volume of knowledge to furnish material for such a work. The time has arrived for an Encyclopaedia of Tamil Culture as for a general dictionary of Indian antiquities. There is a sufficient volume of knowledge in all branches of Tamil culture to be gathered into an encyclopaedia. And such a handy reference book would be welcome not only to the Indian student and general reader, but more especially to the foreign seekers of knowledge about Tamil. In the interests of international publicity for Tamil such an encyclopaedia of Tamil culture is an urgent need.

What is it to contain? It must contain knowledge about Tamil culture in every aspect of it—the history, the mythology, religion, the philosophy, the folklore, the arts, the language and literature of the Tamil people. It goes without saying that to be useful and to command respect the knowledge must be authentic, scientifically obtained, accurate, and up-to-date. The first question to be settled is whether it should be done alphabetically, or in a series of articles on the several branches of Tamil culture, an article on its history, another on its literature and so on and so forth, all brought together and bound in one volume. This method although it may provide instruction would not be a book of easy reference. What the student or general reader especially in foreign countries would want is a work to which he can refer easily and quickly when he finds some Tamil place or king or god or saint or philosopher mentioned in books or articles about the Tamils and their country. It should therefore be an alphabetical encyclopaedia, but it would be helpful and useful if the encyclopaedia also contained compendious surveys of the chief cultural activities of the Tamil people.

To serve these two purposes it would be well if the encyclopaedia were divided into chapters on the history,

religion, philosophy, arts and sciences, each chapter being followed by a dictionary of names, persons, places, acts and activities pertaining to the subject of that chapter. The encyclopaedia will start off with a chapter on the geography of the Tamil country for a description of the land must be at the foundation of the knowledge of the people who have lived on it. And this geographical chapter would include a description of the flora and fauna of the country with explanations of the correspondence between ancient and modern names of the several species and individuals. And immediately after this geographical chapter should come the dictionary of places in Tamilnad—historical and modern, every place mentioned in Tamil literature with information as to what happened to it in the course of history. The places and persons mentioned in the dictionary would be only those occurring in Tamil literature with information about the corresponding places in modern times. The next chapter would be a history of the Tamil kingdoms followed by a dictionary of the names of all persons and places mentioned in Tamil history. And so on with the language, literature, folklore, arts and other activities of the Tamil people.

One question that remains to be settled is how far down in history should this Encyclopaedia of Tamil Culture come. As it is a reference book of Tamil culture and as Tamil culture has a continuous history down to modern times, all events and movements in which Tamilians have played a part must be mentioned and described. But it must be only the part played by Tamilians that would get a mention. In Muslim and British periods of Tamil history only the historical part played by Tamilians, active or passive, would get notice. Thus, for instance, the Land Revenue System under the Muslim and British rule would find a place. So also the part played by Tamil soldiers or regiments or statesmen in the Muslim and British periods of Tamil history.

This encyclopaedia of Tamil culture if it is to command respect and profitable sales must be well produced ; it must be entrusted to publishers who have had experience in publishing dictionaries and encyclopaedias like the Oxford University Press.

Karl Graul, the Nineteenth Century Dravidologist*

ARNO LEHMANN

Dr. Karl Graul, a German theologian and the first director of the Leipzig Mission (which took up the work of the old Tranquebar Mission founded by B. Ziegenbalg in 1706) was born on February 6th 1814 and died on November 10th 1864. In his rather short life he proved to be an outstanding man and scholar in different fields as was shown in an excellent Doctorate thesis on " 100 years of Graul-Interpretation " at the Martin-Luther University at Halle.[1] The surprising fact is that this man turned out also to be an indologist i.e. a dravidologist of high standing. This " also " is not to mean that a polypragmosyne-loving man also tried his hand at dravidology as an amateur. Rather this " also " is said in praise of his extraordinary linguistic gifts and his " encyclopaedic mind ".[2] Graul was not an amateurish worker : he was *the* German dravidologist of the last century, and he ranged beside and even ahead of such prominent men like Rhenius, Pope Drew, Caldwell and Jessen. To say that is not to make a panegyrical overstatement. To let him appear before us as a great man no jubilee-incense is needed : he was a great man and recognized as such in his time even by Chr. Lassen, M. Weber and his friend Max Muller.[3]

Also in India his name is known to well-informed people. Indian visitors to my house were simply excited when finding his works in my library, and often I get requests from India and Ceylon to supply Indian friends

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* Summary of a lecture delivered at Dessau, Germany—D. D. R. on Feb. 6, 1964, the 150th birthday of Karl Graul.

1 Hundert Jahre Graul-Interpretation. Dissertation. Halle 1963.

2 O. G. Myklebust: The study of missions in theol. education. Vol. I, 93. Oslo 1955.

3 Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift 1917, 320. Bibliotheca Tamulica (henceforth: B. T.) II p. X.

with Graul's books. And it is at the request of the Editor of this journal that I rewrite my lecture from German into English as a contribution to "Tamil Culture".

It must be admitted that in common indological books the name of Graul is seldom or never to be found. That rather seems to be deplorable fate of all dravidologists, the reason being that Indology is Sanskrit-centered and thus one-sided. Richard Pischel gave just one sentence to Tamil literature "in the Indian languages of to-day": from the linguistic point of view it appeared to him to be of high value, but without any interest as to its contents. Ludwig Alsdorf in his book "*Deutsch-Indische Geistesbeziehungen*" (1942) leaves out the Tamil-translators altogether. And also Jan Gonda in his "*Die Religionen Indiens*"[4] (2 vol., Stuttgart 1960 and 1963) does not mention the name of Graul. Happily H.von Glasenapp figures as the welcome exception.[5] From what I hear it might well be that my lecture on "The German contribution to Tamil Studies" delivered at the XXV International Oriental Congress at Moscow in 1960[6] serves as a sort of eye-opener to some indologists and it is to be hoped that Dr. Charles Fabri's word proves to be true in the time to come: That the recognition that Tamil-literature is as important as the Sanskrit-literature is making progress.[7] It is to the credit of Karl Graul that he already in his time was quick to see the beauty and the importance of the Tamil language and the Tamil literature and that he gave himself to a bit of pioneering work in this field.

This is not the time to dwell at length upon the language and the literature of the Tamilians.[8] We merely recall that Tamil is a pre-aryan and a dravidian language and that

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4 Vol. II, 3 and 4.

5 H.von Glasenapp: Das Indienbild deutscher Denker. Stuttgart 1960, 118.

6 The German contribution to Tamil Studies. "Tamil Culture", Vol. IX. No. 2, April–June 1961, 109–116. The German contribution in the field of dravidology. In: "Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai Silver Commemoration Volume 1961", Madras, 1961, 141–145.

7 Bulletin der Indischen Botschaft, Bonn. Vol. IX, Nr. 5, Mai 1959, 23.

8 Arno Lehmann: Die sivaitische Frömmigkeit der tamulischen Erbauungsliteratur. Berlin 1948, 31–35.

this literature, with regard to its quantity and importance, stands at the head of the 19 dravidian languages.[9] Of all spoken Indian languages, Tamil is the "most ancient"[10] and also the language of some 30 million people.[11] We have good reasons to follow Dr. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam when in his inaugural lecture at the University of Malaya he said that this living language and literature "have maintained an unbroken recorded continuity at least for the last twenty-three centuries".[12]

According to Winslow's Dictionary[13] the word Tamil does not only denote the language, but also nature, state, quality, melodiousness, pleasantness and even sweetness. Rightly does praise Subramanya Bharati (1882–1921) the name of his Tamilnad as being like honey to his ears, and his Tamil-language as being the sweetest of all languages he knows.

We do not know whether Graul could taste the sweetness of Tamil while learning it in the much lamented heat of South India seemingly, not being aware of Edison's saying, that genius is due to 10% of inspiration and 90% transpiration if not even 1 : 99.[14]

Graul was gifted for language-study. Of course he knew Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. After his enamination he went to Italy to teach children of a French family in the English medium. Asked whether he knew these languages he told his friend : "Would I go if I knew them ?" Well, he became the translator of a portion of Dante's *Divina Comedia*, and he mastered the English idiom so well that even within a few minutes in an Indian forest he was able to write an English poem.[15] Within two weeks, he is said to have learned

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9 T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau : A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary. Oxford 1961, IX.

10 Tamil Culture, Vol. X, No. 1, Jan.–March, 1963, 115.

11 Tamil Culture 1|1963, 10. D. Rajarigam (under No. 8) p. 9.

12 Tamil Culture, 3|1963, 33. J. M. Somasundaram Pillai : 2000 years of Tamil Literature. Madras 1959.

13 Tamil and English Dictionary. Madras 1862, 550.

14 E. Ringenkuhl : 666 Anekdoten. Freiburg 1960, 80

15 Karl Graul : Indische Sinnpflanzen und Blumen. Erlangen 1865, XVIII.

Swedish.[16] Before starting for India (1849) he learned Persian, Sanskrit and also some Tamil, and in India he learnt Tamil and Sentamil and Hindostani and went further in his Sanskrit-studies. One is inclined to quote Namakkal Ramalingam to fit Graul [17] : *'பாஷைகள் பற்பல படித்தவன் நீயே'.*

He certainly did not reach Cardinal Mezzofanti's distinction of knowing some 50 languages, but happily he also did not earn the sarcastic judgment which Paul de Lagarde passed on Mezzofanti—that in all these 50 languages he had nothing to say ! [18] How well Graul must have been conversant with Sanskrit we can see from the fact that soon after his arrival in Bombay he wanted to read the Upanishads [19], and that in Chidambaram in a talk with about fifty Brahmins he was to find out that they had painfully neglected their Sanskrit-studies.[20] And even in his very first year in India he could teach Sanskrit.[21] Also his books testify to his knowledge of Sanskrit.[22]

Graul's biographer Herman writes that Graul had learned a good number of Indian dialects and languages so as to be able to understand them.[23] But we lack any proof for this somewhat high-sounding assertion. For certain, we know that he learned Hindostani in addition to Sanskrit and Tamil so that after a 10 months' stay in India he read Hindostani after lunch as a sort of recreation [24] instead of taking some rest after long hours of study. He also was able to read Telugu, and in his Tamil Grammar we find on the pages

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16 Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift 1917, 319.

17 Tamil Culture, 1|1963, 7.

18 L. Alsdorf : Deutsch-Indische Geistesbeziehungen. Berlin 1942, 56.

19 Ev.-luth. Missionsblatt (Leipzig) 1850, 214. G. Hermann : Dr. Karl Graul. Halle 1867, 100.

to 8 : Devanesan Rajarigam : Christliche Literatur in der Tamil Sprache. Berlin 1961, 9–14.

20 K. Graul : Reise nach Ostindien. Leipzig 1855. Bd IV, 47, 49.

21 Reise... IV, 108,, Ev.-luth. Missionsblatt 1851, 116.

22 B. T. I, S. XIV.

23 Hermann (cf. 19) S. 100.

24 Reise... IV, 108. Ev.-luth. Missionsblatt 1850, 214 ; 1851, 117.

96–100 tables of declension and conjugation "in other Dravida dialects" [25] though we may take it for granted that he wrote these examples with the help of others.

Altogether Graul spent two and a half years in India. These he meant to be his "scientific High school" in spite of the fact that he went there as a director of the Leipzig Mission with certain duties to be attended to.

It has been said that Graul has been and still is the only (at least) German mission-director who learnt the language of those people who were meant to be served.[26] The uniqueness of Graul does not stand in any dobut.[27] There is but one example of a German director like Graul: Rev. Wallmann who, at his desk at Wuppertal in Germany, wrote and published about the Nama-language (South Africa) and a Borneo-dialect in the years 1854–1857.[28] But with Graul it was different: he studied in India and he did it so well, that he could talk with the people and could translate into German and was able to write a Tamil Grammar as he was also willing to study Sentamil.

It would seem that he found Tamil more difficult than any other language he had learned earlier. Though he knew that Tamil is synonym with *inimei* (sweetness) and that this beautiful language is "dripping with honey" [29] he called it a "rather peculiar and difficult tongue".[30] When in May 1850 he seems to have come to Tranquebar, he devoted himself to the study of this sweet language beginning at 6 o'clock in the morning untill 1 o'clock, with the help of a Tamil teacher, while at Mayuraṁ (since October 1850) he indulged in Tamil conversation after lunch-time.[31]

25 B. T. I. S. XIV. K. Graul: Outline of Tamil Grammar. Leipzig 1855, 96–100.
26 Luth. Missionsjahrbuch 1936. 49. Jahrg., Leipzig 1936, 93. Deutsche Evang. Heidenmission, Jahrbuch 1936 (Hamburg), 49 fl.
27 Wie vorst. Allgem. Missions-Zeitschrift 1917, 317.
28 L. von Ehoden: Geschichte der Rheinischen Mission.|Barmen 1888, 68. Ed. Kriele: Gesch. der Bhein. Mission I. Earmen 1928, 130|1. Brief der Rhein. Mission an den Verf. vom. 17-12-1963. AMZ 1882, 385 fl.
29 Reise... IV, 68, 337.
30 Reise... IV, 70.
31 Reise... IV, 108|9.

The question is open whether Graul began his Tamil studies in Germany, and how far he would have gone in these studies. In 1839 Heinrich Cordes had learned Tamil from Professor Friedrich Ruckert at Erlangen (in Bavaria) : Graul might have gone the same way, but we fail to know that for certain. In my opinion it would be an overstatement to call him an expert in Tamil [32] even before he went to India, though due regard is being given to his enormous linguistic abilities and his stupendous energy. After five months he made his first short public speech in Tamil at Kumbakonam.[33] May be, he could be compared to that young missionary who preached his first sermon after which the Indian pastor praised him highly but added that of course none had understood him ? Or the other one who after his first language-examination addressed an Indian lady in his sort of Tamil and was to hear as answer that she did not understand English ? !

About that time he started teaching children in a Bible-class three times a week and also he tried to preach from the pulpit at Mayuram [34] and give addresses and was leading devotions [35] in Tamil. He was proud and glad also to stand in the old Tranquebar-pulpit before the year 1850 came to a close.[36] Whether or not he did well we do not know. But it may be said that other people were able to preach Tamil sermons after eight months of study in the country. In fact I myself was pressed by my Munshi to deliver my first sermon in Tamil exactly after seven months—but when a Tamil lady told me afterwards that I had " preached like the Apostle Paul " I felt free to doubt this kind appraisal.

So Graul was able to speak with Tamilians and to understand them without the interference of any interpreter. That is much to say about a travelling mission-director : and Graul to this very day remains the only one of that group of people.

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32 B. T. I, S. XI. Luth. Missionsjahrbuch 1936, 93.
33 Reise... IV, 70.
34 Reise... IV, 108.
35 Reise... V, Leipzig 1956, 82.
36 Reise... IV, 216.

But what is more is that Graul also was a keen student of High tamil [37] so that he could become one of the few translators from Tamil into German, English and Latin.

To study Sentamil is to study another Tamil-language as already B. Ziegenbalg was able to show.[38] Any European student comes to know the difference between the easy grape-fruit-like way of talking Tamil that being the way fools would talk, and the Banana-like way of talking which is the talk of the intelligent people—and the way of talking likened to the coconut which is the talking of the wise men who make it difficult to break the hard shell of dark speech in order to find after some efforts only the sweet kernel of meaning.[39]

Graul was digging deeply into the Tamil soil trying to understand the Tamil mind at its deepest depth : he was a knower and not a mere talker.[40] With his trained understanding and his critical mind, he saw what could be wrong with any text-edition and he was in the position to compare differing manuscripts in order to find out the true meaning, and always he looked for more handwritten texts to be compared before he accepted a text for his publications.[41] He had an eye for and he took time to look into small matters. In his translation he took pains to translate the true meaning in such a way that the reader might find it easy to study and to understand the original text. He also was careful about getting the opinions of the commentators to bear on the way of translating any passage being very much afraid to get the work, done by an European, in the very least coloured by European notions which possibility he abhorred.[42] Yet, with all his intention to do the work as conscientiously

37 Reise... V, 132. Ev.-luth. Missionsblatt 1851, 316; 1852, 94.

38 Ziegenbalg's Malabarisches Heidenthum. Amsterdam 1926, 223.

39 Ziegenbalg: "Von ihrer Poesie und Poeten". In: Malabarisches Heidenthum, 223–227. Arno Lehmann: Die sivaitische Frommigkeit.., 33–36. Cf. das. die Anm. 23–25 auf S. 75.

40 Reise .. IV, 335. Outline of Tamil Grammar, 96–100. B. T. III, S. XII.

41 B. T. I. S. XIII, XV.

42 B. T. III, S. XVIII, XIX.

as possible he did not want to become "a slave of faithfulness" and thus tried, wherever it seemed feasible, to use rhythm and other means to do justice to aesthetic necessities. He even sometimes did his best to imitate the poetical metre of the Tamil original, simply in order to get some of its "tender flavour" into his German text.[43] About his Latin translation he expressively declares that it was "so faithful to the original as possible" so that the Tamil student could "follow the Tamil text word for word". To a certain extent he followed the Latin translation of Beschi, but if necessary he offered also translations of his own for some passages to make them clear. Since Beschi had not translated the third part of the Kural (Kamatthuppal) being afraid of its "erotical" contents, Graul translated this part for the first time. And he was very careful to let the text and its meaning be what it is in Tamil i.e. he was watchful to the highest degree in no case to give any passage a Christian colouring[44] —a danger which was not in all cases avoided by all translators. I remember when reading some of the "Psalms(!) of a Saiva Saint" translated by the Rev. Isaac Tambyah (London 1925) that almost "naturally" I passed into singing, and after the church-hymn "The Churches one foundation..." at that!

Now let us ask : What is it really that Graul has accomplished in the field of Tamil studies and publications ? Among his numerous articles there are a considerable number dealing with religion. Notable is his 5-volume-report about his "Travel to East-India" in which the annotations are of greatest importance for any student. As a matter of fact : Graul aimed at doing much and he also did much. He wrote an "Outline of Tamil Grammar accompanied by specimens of Tamil structure and comparative tables of the flexional system in other Dravida dialects", 102 pp., and this was printed and published at Leipzig (Germany) 1855 ! This work alone makes Graul worthy enough not to be forgotten.

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43 B. T. III, XVIII ; Sinnpflanzen XII, XIII.
44 B. T. IV, S. VI.

Even more he did in the field of translation into German, English and Latin. He planned to publish a number of books thus showing the Tamil riches to Europeans if God was to give him the strength and time to do so. But he died when only fifty years old. And so we have just four volumes containing his translations. The formulation of the title of his main work seems to follow B. Ziegenbalg's "Bibliotheca Malabarica".[45] That "Malabaric" is equal to Tamil I have shown in one of my books[46]; already Ziegenbalg was fully aware of it when in his "Grammatica Damulica", printed in 1716 at Halle (Germany), he says "*Lingua Damulica seu Malabarica*".

Now Graul's title runs as follows :

BIBLIOTHECA TAMULICA

sive

Opera Praecipua Tamuliensium.

What do we find in these volumes? In his biography a short report is being given, and Graul himself outlines the contents in the volumes I and II.[47] These volumes contain a fine piece of Tamil philosophy i.e. the Vedanta system in a threefold way : the "culmination of the Indian mind"[48] showing the identity of God and Man's soul :

"*Nur Gott ist wirklich,*
die Welt ist Schein ;
die Seele ist nichts
als Gott allein".

Vol. I contains the German translation and explanation of *Kaivaljanavanita*, *Pancadasaprakarana* and *Atma Boda Prakasika* and Vol. II *Kaivaljanavanita* only, but along with the

45 Arno Lehmann: Bibliotheca Malabarica. Bine wieder entdeckte Handschrift. Wiss. Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther—Universitat Halle-Wittenberg. Ges.-Sprachw. VIII, 4|5 S. 903–906.

46 Arno Lehmann: Es begann in Tranquebar. Berlin 1956 2, 37–46.

47 Hermann (cf. 19) S. 149–151. Missionsnachrichten der Ostindischen Missionsanstalt zu Halle (HMN) 1854, 25–30.

48 Wie vorst. S. 29.

Tamil text, an English translation, a Glossary of 27 pages, some grammatical explanations and an explanation of 100 " Sanskrit-Vedanta-expressions ".

Volumes III and IV contain the *Kural* of Tiruvalluvar. A short introduction is given in Vol. III on page XV. Some shorter extracts of the Kural were published by Graul also in three other places,[49] and one contribution is given the heading " The Tamilian ' Goethe ' " which was sure to appeal to German readers.

Graul loved the *Kural* dearly, as already Ziegenbalg also had loved this kind of Tamil poetry. It was he, Ziegenbalg, who as the first European had translated such poetry into German.[50] Graul found that the " *Kural* in its three parts was a reflection of the Indian and especially of the Tamilian mind of the people ".[51]

The style of the *Kural* was matchless comparable only with the perfection of the style in Greek ; the *Kural* was to Graul " the pearl of pearls in this old and rich classical literature of the Tamilians "—as also in our time the *Kural* was called " the greatest masterpiece of Tamil literature " and, according to our learned editor, embodying " the rationalisation and synthesis of the wisdom and ideals of the earlier Tamil literature. . . "[52] It is here that attention might be drawn also to the new translation of the *Kural* into the Russian language done in 1963 by a very able young indologist at Moscow whose name we might do well to keep in our mind.[53] The *Kural* will not be praised but it will be read ! As a sort of appetizer in the lecture some examples were given in Tamil as well as in German.

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49 HMN 1858, 131–146 ; Sinnpflanzen (cf. 16), 35–174 ; " Das Ausland " (Augsburg) 1856, 125–127 ; 325–328 ; 656–659 ; 750–753.

50 B. Ziegenbalg's Kleiner Schriften. Amsterdam 1930, 87 S.

51 B. T. III, S. XIX.

52 Reise. . IV, 193 ; Sinnpflanzen. . S. XI ; M. Sadasivam ; A short account of The Sangam Literature. Madras O. J., S. 8 ; Tamil Culture, 3|1963, S. 30 and Indian thought and Roman stoicism, Kuala Lumpur 1963, S. 16.

53 Yuri Glasov : Tirukural. Moskau 1963. 156 S.

About the poet Tiruvalluvar, of whom even a 15 np-stamp appreared, Graul was well informed.[54] In 1856 he dated his lifetime " not before 200 and not later than 800 after Christ ". But in a book published in 1865 he suggested that he was born " not later than 800, but may be even before Christ ". With this date he comes near to what contemporaries say.[55]

In the famous *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, Karl Graul published two more translations, namely Nampi's " *Akapporul Vilakkam* "[56] and in 19 pages parts of the " *Sivajnanasittiyar* " of Arul Nanthi[57] which is said to be the bulkiest and the most learned contribution to Tamil philosophy[58] dealing with the " three eternal uncreated principles : soul, deity and illusion ".

To Graul, Tayumanavar also was not a stranger. He wrote about him and some, though small portions, of his hymns were translated by him.[59] Graul's plan comprised many items, including an introduction to all the branches of Tamil literature. Yet we know that even of his vol. IV of the *Bibliotheca Tamulica* he saw but one sheet for correction before his early death.[60]

He had done a lot of preparatory work for further publications. One is astonished to see what this painstaking man was able to achieve within a short life-time. How much has he read and studied ; what a wealth of knowledge is shown in the annotations alone mentioning poets, their works and where and when they were printed ! Of course he knew

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54 B. T. III S. 185–196. Das Ausland (Augsburg) 1855, 1213–1216.

55 B. T. III S. XI ; Sinnpflanzen. S. XI ; Illustrated Weekly of India, April 1961, 38.

56 Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft (DMG) Leipzig 1857, 369–395.

57 DMG 1854, 720–738.

58 M. S. Purnalingam Pillai : Tamil Literature. Tinnevelly 1929, 249/50.

59 Das Ausland (Augsburg) 1858, 924–926 ; cf. auch Sinnpflanzen. S. 187–193. Die vollständige Ubersetzung : Arno Lehmann : Die Hymnen des Tayumanavar. Gutersloh 1935, 270 S.

60 B. T. I S. XVI ; B. T. IV S. IX.

Tirujnanasambhandamurti Nayanar and his birth-place Sirkali.[61] His travel in the country was enriched by the knowledge he had about important places and what had happened there. When in Vaithisvarankoil near Sirkali the name of the famous Beschi comes to his mind ; at the proper time he remembers Pattinattuppillaiyar and cites Manikkavasagar.[62] The *Madura-Stala-Purana* is known to him as also the Madura-Sangam. He ponders and writes about the relationship between Tamil and Sanskrit ; he mentions Kapilar, Sivavakkiam, the Vaishnavite Tiruvaimoli and *Pantschatantra* and sources and aspects of Vedanta-philosophy.[63] Graul is well informed about old grammatical and lexical works, about the *Ramayana*, about the Djaina-literature and the buddhistic influences on Tamil literature.[64] He also had read what the famous Christian poet Vedanayagam Sastriar (1774–1864) had sung and paid a visit to the grand old man[65] and from his " The blind way " he translated a portion ;[66] and he also read other Christian writings done in Tamil. During his stay at Madras he visited a College-library and lamented : " Except myself it was only ants which studied these old and not too important Tamil manuscripts ".[67] Being an authority he was asked to write reviews on difficult books ; he read the magazine ' *Radjatani* ' and mentions a lot of names and works.[68] Unlike other Europeans he was in the position also to pass a judgment on the Bible-translation : He found it not perfect but excellent. " I find that the expressions used in the Bible are just those which I come across when moving among the middle class people. The old missionaries who, by the way, have rightly studied also High—or book—Tamil (and already Ziegenbalg seems to have made a great success) were careful to avoid in the

61 Reise... IV, 329. Ubersetzungen von Liedern Sambandars of Arno Lehmann : Die sivaitische Frommigkeit... S. 5–15.

62 Reise... IV, 33, 37, 39|40, 326.

63 Das Ausland (Augsburg) 1855, 1159|60 ; 1857, 458 fl. ; 1859, 1195 fl.

64 B. T. I S. XI fl., III S. XIII ; Reise... IV, 34, 193, 199, 339|40.

65 Reise... IV, 227.

66 HMN 1858, 18–22.

67 Reise... V, 144.

68 HMN 1858, 23 fl. ; 1859, 101|2 ; 118–128 ; Reise .. V. 153.

Holy Bible any High Tamil influences and at the same time they never fell into the Pariah-Tamil which is not honoured too much among the Tamilians of some standing as a proverb says : 'The blossom of the pumpkin and the language of the Pariahs are scentless'. In short the old missionaries in a most appreciable manner went the middle way ".[69]

In view of his further studies and publications Graul had collected printed works in Tamil and he also had two writers at work who "ceaselessly" copied manuscripts. Graul meant to establish at Leipzig "a small library" which was to be the basis for Tamil studies also for outgoing theologians who were to be well versed with Tamil literature and the deep Tamil mind. This library came into being and had 150 items : at that time if not even today this Tamil library at Leipzig was of unique importance. As Graul expected European scholars to take interest in these Tamil books he published the catalogue in a magazine which was read by all people who took any interest in oriental works.[70] This library (which still exists at Leipzig in the headquarters of the Leipzig Mission) covers grammatical, lexical, epical, lyrical, dramatical, theological, moral and philosophical books and also such as jurisprudence, medicine, folklore, Varia and 16 pieces of Christian literature in Tamil.

But not only this, at Leipzig was also established a Tamil press (as formerly also at Halle). Graul had printed there his Tamil Grammar and his *Bibliotheca Tamulica* including all the Tamil texts. The types are simply wonderful, and Graul felt that these were "in point of elegance and precision" the most beautiful Tamil types he ever had seen in his life.[71]

It might well be asked : what was the motive behind all these activities ? People fond of gossiping at Graul's time were of opinion that this man, highly gifted as he was,

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69 Reise... V, 181|2.

70 Reise .. V, 131|2 ; Ev.-luth. Missionsblatt 1852, 93 ; AMZ 1917, 320 ; HMN 1854, 22–30 ; der Katalog ; DMG 1853, 558–568.

71 Reise... V, 286, B. T. II S. IX.

had just found a hobby, which he would not fail to cultivate. And did he not lay too much stress upon indology rather than theology ? [72]

Motives usually are mixed ones : such is life and human nature. Making use of the talents given to him was quite right as long as other and perhaps more important duties were not neglected (for he was not a full-time indologist !) But as a director of a mission to India, Graul felt that any theologian going out to India should know his land of adoption at her best. None was good enough for India who otherwise might have made a passable figure at home.[73] They should study the language and the literature in Tamil, and Graul meant to be their teacher and guide into the labyrinthian depths.[74]

At the same time it was Graul's plan and aim to "introduce the Tamil tongue and literature into the sphere of interest of European studies". Thus it might be said that he wanted to be an early ambassador of India and the Tamilnad ; it is only fair that his name be not forgotten as one of the early and successful dravidologists. And we have to add that he also wanted the Christians in Germany to know what India really was like in her deep aspirations and high philosophy and especially "the noble people" in Tamilnad.[75]

In conclusion, we have a right to ask which place among dravidologists may be given to Graul. How did Graul see himself ? He knew that he had done a formidable thing. To have what Thomas Ohm styled "*das Selbstwertgefühl*",[76] not belittling oneself, is not to mean a lack of

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72 Hermann... 146.

73 Reise... V, 130.

74 B. T. I S. XVI ; B. T. III S. IX|X, XVIII. HMN 1854, 22-24 ; Reise.. V. 286. K. Graul : Uber Stellung und Bedeutung der christl. Mission im Ganzen der Universitutswissenschaften. Erlangen 1864, 1. B. Ziegenbalg : Malabarisches Heidenthum S. 12 ; Genealogie der Malab. Gotter S. 3.

75 B. T. I S. X. Sinnpflanzen . S. XIV, XV.

76 Thomas Chm : Machet zu Jungern alle Volker. Freiburg 1962 361, 451.

humility. Given gifts, gifts of God are certainly no pedestal for boasting and self-praise. And never can we observe that Graul fell into such a trap, that he made himself appear as an important man or made a boast of his learning and accomplishments. He knew that others before him had opened up the ways and tracks [77]: he knew them, he recognized their work and he mentioned their names duly. He being a Protestant was full of praise for the Jesuit Beschi "who in the fields of grammar and lexicography has done excellent work indeed" [78] though it would appear to me that he did not know of Beschi's *Tembavani.* He also names the Englishman Drew and the Frenchman Ariel. And he could not fail to see what the old missionaries had done: "They from the very beginning considered it to be their bounden duty to dig into the length, breadth and depth of the Tamil literature, to learn the language well and thus to come to know the way of life and the way of thinking of the Tamilians to the best of their ability". But he was sober enough to realize that with so many new duties at hand they cannot be blamed for not having translated "the main works of Tamil literature along with explanations to make them available for ever".[79] Did he know what Ziegenbalg had done, this "ice-breaker among the South Indian scholars of religion"? [80] As a matter of fact he had read the bulky Halle-Reports of the early missionaries.[81] And so he also must have read Ziegenbalg's letter dated August 22nd 1708 which was the covering letter to the *Bibliotheca Malabarica.*[82] And he knew Ziegenbalg's Tamil Grammar.[83] But never does he refer to Ziegenbalg's books on Hinduism the manuscripts of which gathered dust in the Halle-archives, nor does he mention the very first translation from Tamil into German done by Ziegenbalg: *Nidi Wenpa, Kondei Wenden* and *Ulaga Nidi.* Only 222 years after the completion of this translation it was published

77 Reise... V. 305|6.
78 Reise... V, 308, 309; B. T. III S. XVIII.
79 Reise... V, 308; B. T. III S. XVIII und XIX.
80 R. F. Merkel: Ein vergessener Religionsforscher. "Forschungen und Fortschritte". 9. Jg., Berlin 1933, Nr. 16, S. 234|5.
81 HMN 1853, 57; 1858, 53 ff.
82 Reise... V, 182; HMN 1858, 12, 54.
83 HMN 1858, 131|2; Reise... V, 301, 306.

at Amsterdam in 1930; so he could not know it unless he had discovered the dusty manuscript in the Archives.[84] Yet at least the preface, with slight omissions, was published [85] already in 1710; and he would without doubt have read it and regretted to miss the texts.

We are not able to say whether or not Graul knew about the manifold accomplishments [86] of the old missionaries. He may not have heard about Walther's (unprinted) Sanskrit Grammar and his "*Oberservationes Grammaticae*" nor about Grundler's "*Medicus Malabaricus*".[87] Of course he knew and had in his hands the old Dictionary ("Tranquebar Dictionary") and was in the know of many attempts made by B. Schultze in the field of translations into Tamil and Telugu. It is good to know that he mentioned a work of the great Fr. Schwartz which even found the interest in our days by Bishop Sabapathy Kulandram in Lanka.[88] What Cammerer had done, as the first European, in his attempt of a Kural-translation which was published at Nürnberg (Germany), found Graul's severe criticism.[89]

Since Graul did not know Ziegenbalg's translations mentioned before and as Cammerer's work did not find grace before his eyes (and rightly so) he could well have thought that he was the first German having done solid dravidological work, and his contemporaries could esteem him as such. In fact after Ziegenbalg, Graul is the second in the list of real and true German dravidologists.

Graul of course was aware of the fact that he was not the first *European* (beside Ziegenbalg) who earned a name as a translator. Beschi had translated the first two books

84 Arno Lehmann: Es begann in Tranquebar. Berlin 1956 2, 49, 55–57.

85 Hallesche Berichte I (3. ed. 1716).

86 Vergl. Arno Lehmann: Es begann in Tranquebar, 192 fl.

87 Wie vorst. 57|8; die Anm. 36 auf S. 323; Arno Lehmann: Hallesche Mediziner und Medizinen am Anfang der deutsch-indischen Beziehungen. Wiss. Z. Univ. Halle. Math.-Nat., Jahrg. V. Heft 2, S. 117–182.

88 Reise... V. 304; HMN 1858, 18: W. Germann: Chr. Schwartz. Erlangen 1870, 238–243, Bishop Sabapathy Kulandram, Ceylon: "An unpublished manuscript of Chr. Fr. Schwartz", 6 S. machr.

89 B. T. III S. XVIII.

of the Kural before him, and likewise also Drew (1848). But Graul was the first European to have translated the whole *Kural* in any language and this holds true also with regard to the Vedanta-texts in his *Bibliotheca Tamulica.*

We have reason to say : As Ziegenbalg was the outstanding dravidologist in the XVIII century so Graul was the outstanding dravidologist in his century.

That is why we said in the beginning of this lecture that no jubilee-incense was necessary to exalt Graul, for he *was* a great man. It is enough and it is at the same time also right that we in Germany after 150 years of Graul's birth and 100 years after his untimely death might say, in changing a word of Goethe said in praise of Schiller : [90] For he was *ours*, let this word of pride in this memorial year with force be shouted !

90 J. W. Goethe : Epilog zu Schillers Glocke (10 August 1805).

Thiru Vi Kalyāṇasundarar's Concept of Caste

E. SA. VISSWANATHAN

Scholars who have analysed the culture of India have generally expressed a variety of opinions about the institution of caste. The system of caste which has survived to this day, came under criticism during the early 19th century. In North India men like Rājā Rām Mohun Roy (1772–1833) Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824–1883) and Swami Vivekānanda (1863–1902) realised that the caste system 'after doing its service is now filling the atmosphere of India with stink'. Likewise in South India, Rāmaliṅka Adikal (1823–1874) pointed out the defects of the caste system and advocated a casteless society. These scholars, reformers and religious leaders tried to mould a casteless Hindu society but failed to accomplish what they desired. However, their teachings created a new outlook in Indian Society regarding caste.

The Experience of Caste

After Rāmaliṅka Adikal, two prominent social reformers in Tamilnad, South India, worked for the eradication of the evils of the caste system. They were the poet Subramania Bārati (1882–1921) and Tiruvārūr Viruttācalam Kalyāṇasundara Mudaliyār. Bārati, a Brahmin by castes not only criticised the behaviour of the people belonging to the higher caste but also preached against the caste system itself. His views on the age-old caste system have been very clearly stated in his book of poems entitled *Bāratiyār Kavitaikaḷ.*[1]

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1. " சாதிப் பிரிவுகள் சொல்லி—அதில்
 தாழ்வென்றும் மேலென்றும் கொள்வார்,
நீதிப் பிரிவுகள் செய்வார்—அங்கு
 நித்தமும் சண்டைகள் செய்வார்.
சாதிக் கொடுமைகள் வேண்டாம் ;—அன்பு
 தன்னில் செழித்திடும் வையம் ;
ஆதர வுற்றிங்கு வாழ்வோம் ;— ... "

பாரதியார், பாரதியார் கவிதைகள், பாரதி பதிப்பகம்' சென்னை, 1960, பக்கம் 169.

On the other hand T.V.K. was born in a Veḷḷāḷā community, a community considered next in superiority to the Brahmins. Since his family followed strictly the caste rules, he was brought up in the same atmosphere.[3] But the superiority complex of the Hindus of higher caste did not last long in him. His close association with people of different communities during his youth, and also the Tamil literary works from which he drew his inspiration, made him view the institution of caste from a different angle. The cause for the change of attitude is very clearly described in his autobiography,[2] *Vāḷkaikkurippukkaḷ*

> "I was born in an orthodox family which strictly followed the caste-rules. Naturally I also grew up with the same feelings which, however, fortunately for me did not last; the reason being my close association with Christians during my boyhood days".[3]

The cause for his change of attitude was due to his friendship with the Christians of whom he does not give details in his *Vāḷkaikkurippukkaḷ* However, some names might be mentioned after a careful study of his autobiography. When T.V.K. was at the Wesley College, Royapettah, Madras, pursuing his secondary education, he had ample opportunity to move closely with his teachers of whom David Devadas the Third Form teacher, Krishna Rao the Fifth Form teacher, and G.G. Cacus the Principal of the Institution,[4] are worthy of mention. They were all Christians by faith. True to the precepts of Christianity they might have treated all their students equally, irrespective of their caste or creed, and this might have created a good impression on T.V.K.'s young mind. Later, when he started his career as a teacher at the Wesleyan Mission School, Thousandlights, Madras., he associated himself closely

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2. Tiru. Vi. Kalyāṇasundara Mudaliyār, *Tiru. Vi. Ka. Vāḷkaikkurippukkaḷ*, [page 776
3. Ibid. page 767.
4. Ibid. pages 55-57.

with the Ādidrāvidā boys, and this association enabled him to broaden his outlook on the caste system.

> "I had the opportunity of moving with the Ādidrāvidā pupils at the Thousandlights school. What was it that I gained by this association? I became an Ādidrāvidā: in other words I became casteless. I wrote and spoke that there should be no caste distinctions in society. I myself was able to practice what I advocated through the press, through my books and speeches."[5]

Some other isolated incidents, however insignificant they might be, have also influenced the opinion of T.V.K. regarding the function of caste in Indian society, and urged him to work for its extirpation. Of these, two incidents are worth recollecting here. During T.V.K.'s younger days 'Sivaṉaṭiyār Tirukkūṭṭam' was the prominent registered Saivaite Association in Madras. Its founder was one Ati Mudaliār, a person of liberal views who advocated inter-dining on festive occasions. This created great stir among the orthodox members of the Association. They were unable to reconcile their orthodoxy with the unorthodox attitude of the President, Āti Mudaliyār, and therefore left the Association for good. Some of those who severed their connection with it, not only worked against its interests but also planned to harm the President. T.V.K. was taken aback at hearing of behaviour of the Caste Saivites. An analogous incident created by Caste Saivites happened at Tuticorin when Maṟaimalai Adikaḷ (1876–1950) went to preside over the Saiva Siddhanta Annual Conference in 1910. He observed that the born-vegetarians or Saivites of higher caste were served food in an exclusive place whereas others were not allowed even to pass that way. Maṟaimalai Adikaḷ being a man of a liberal outlook advised the organisers to follow the principles of Saivism, and impressed on them the necessity for inter-dining especially at such conferences. After much deliberation, they

5. Ibid. page 239.

acceded to his point of view. Later, a group of self-conceited Saivites attacked him in a magazine article which, with much abusive matter, asserted the superiority of their caste on false and most erroneous grounds. He might have treated it with indifference, for it contained no argument worth contending, but because of the harmful influence it was likely to have on the minds of the unenlightened, he took up cudgels on behalf of the down-trodden and in the interests also of the true Saivā community, whose progress depended not on its exclusiveness but on absorbing into it and assimilating within itself, persons of higher qualities turned out from the lower rungs of Indian Society. The result was the first edition of *Cāti Vērṟumaiyum Pōlic Caivarum*,[6] wherein he explained the tenets of the Saivā religion, and exposed the myth of caste in Saivism. Not only did this treatise create a commotion but it also ended in a court case which was an eye-opener for T.V.K.[7] It induced him to work with greater zeal for the abolition of caste and its evils, from Tamil society.

Influence of Thinkers

The seeds of reform were, however, sown in him by one Alarmēlmaṅkaittāyār, a Brahmo Samajist and social worker. He has this to say about her in his autobiography :—

> I saw Alarmēlmankaittāyār at the Congress Social Reform Conference in 1909. In those days it was a rare sight to see Indian women participating in political conferences, and much less, speaking at such conferences. She was engaged at that time in social activities... She encouraged me in my youth to take up to social service. She was the pioneer of many of the movements that are in existence now in South India and her life itself was dedicated to social service.[8]

6. Maṟaimalai Adikal, CĀTI VĒṞṞUMAIYUM PŌLIC CAIVARUM' pages 9-10.
7. Tiru. Vi. Ka., Tiru. Vi.Ka. Vāḷkaikkuṟippukkaḷ, pages 767-768.
8. Ibid. page 739.

The next personality that influenced T. V. K. was Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948) who after entering the political scene of India realized that the evils of the caste system and untouchability were the two great barriers in the way of achieving national unity. Therefore he realized the urgent need to cut at the root, the evils of caste in Hindu Society and directed his efforts towards that end. The movement led by Gandhiji had also considerable effect on T.V.K. and induced him to work for the eradication of the caste system.[9]

In order to launch an effective campaign against the caste system, a sound knowledge of its growth as well as its function in society was essential. It was all the more essential because the caste system continued to be a powerful living force in Hindu Society, in spite of Gandhiji's work. T.V.K. was fully aware of the need and, therefore he read Vedic Literature, (circa 1000 B.C.) the Laws of Manu (Circa 200 A.D.) and the works of various social reformers, thus equipping himself adequately. Before beginning his campaign, he explained in simple and lucid manner to the people, the philosophy behind the Caste system.

According to T.V.K. the source of Hinduism is the Ṛg-Veda. The rules for the Hindu way of life were codified by Manu, the great law-giver of the Hindus. The life blood of Hindu society was the Sanātana Dharma or Varṇāśrama-dharma.[10] Varṇāśrama-dharma has two aspects of which the Varṇa-dharma was conceived for the benefit of society, and the Āśrama-dharma for the benefit of individual self. The whole of society was classified into four major functional groups namely Brāhmana, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra 'the priestly order, the military order, the agricultural-commercial-artisan order, and the servile order'. The Āśrama-dharma arranged the life of an individual into four stages which were known as Brahmacārya, Gṛhastya, Vānaprastya

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9. Tiru. Vi. Ka., MAṈITA VĀLKKAIYUM GĀNDHIADIKALUM, pages 109–111.
10. Tiru. Vi. Ka., INTIYĀVUM VIṬUTALAIYUM, page 88.

and Sannyàsa which respectively signify the period of studentship, the period of work or the life of a householder in society, the period of retreat and the period of renunciation. The division of Varṇāśrama-dharma was most natural and was intended for the smooth functioning of social as well as individual life.[11]

When Sanātana-dharma was formulated, everyone in society followed a vocation in life suited to his temperament or taste, such as teaching, business, agriculture etc. Thus the four-fold classification of society was primarily an occupational division rather than a division on the basis of birth. For example names like teacher, potter, farmer, astrologer etc., denoted names of occupations at one time, and even now are regarded as purely professional names in many villages in the South. Later, however, heredity and tradition determined the occupation of an individual, instead of taste and temperament. Naturally this practice paved the way for hardening of the caste system on the basis of birth. The rule that birth determined the occupation of an individual continued for centuries, and so the son of a teacher irrespective of the profession he followed, was considered to be a Brahmin by virtue of his birth.[12] The Hindu law books which speak about the Varṇāśrama-dharma classify the varṇa-dharma both on the basis of occupation and birth. This form of classification of the caste system could be found in Sukra Nīti, or The *The Laws of Sukrā*. This merely leads us to suggest that the general concept of the caste system underwent a gradual change to suit the conditions of a particular period. Because the modifications were quite contrary to the original, T.V.K. like other Tamil scholars of South India[13] considered them to be interpolations.

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11. Ibid. page 373.
12. Tiru. Vi. Ka., MAṈITA VĀḺKKAIYUM GĀNDHIADIKAḶUM, page 102.
13. இடைச் செருகலில் இடைக்காலச் சாதி இந்தியா பேர்பெற்று விளங்கியது. இதுபற்றித் தென்மொழியிலும் வடமொழியிலும் பெரும் புலமை வாய்ந்த பாம்பன் குமரகுருதாச சுவாமிகள் தமது "குமார சாமியம்" என்னும் நூலில் வருந்தி வருந்திப் பாடிய பாடல்கள் நினைவுக்கு வருகின்றன .... சுக்கிர நீதி என்றொரு நூல் வடமொழியில் யாக்கப்பட்டது. அதில் தொழிலை யொட்டிய சாதிப்

T.V.K.'s opinion deserves consideration especially when most of the law books that were written after Manu, the original law-giver of the Hindus, were ascribed to him. Naturally when scholars, both oriental and occidental, in their study noted the contradictions in the laws that were attributed to Manu, some of them doubted the authenticity of the original work of Manu itself, while others regarded the contradictory laws as interpolations.[14]

The evils of the caste system in society originated from the initial four-fold classification of the Varṇās. Even when caste was decided on the basis of birth there was no conflict in society. The trouble started only when certain castes arrogated to themselves superior rights and privileges. Especially when the Brāhmins claimed superiority over others by virtue of their professional qualification and by their birth, it met with stiff resistence from the Kshatriyas. Buddha (B.C. 563-483) and Mahavira (B.C. 599-527), the two earliest reformers of India, strove to achieve equality among the various sections of society. But their efforts to achieve

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பாகுபாடுகளும், பிறப்பையொட்டிய சாதிப் பாகுபாடுகளும் பேசப் பட்டுள்ளன. ஓரே நூலில் முரண்பட்ட கருத்துக்கள் எப்படி யிருத்தல் கூடும்? அதை இடைச் செருகல் திருவிளையாடலென்று சொல்லவும் வேண்டுமோ? அத்திருவிளையாடல், சுக்கிரநீதி தமிழ் மொழி பெயர்ப்பாசிரியர் பண்டிதமணி கதிரேசன் செட்டியார் தமது மொழிபெயர்ப்பு முகவுரையில் பொறித்துள்ள குறிப்புக் களால் நன்கு விளங்குகிறது.

மெய்யோ டேபொய்யும் விரவிடு மாறுபன் னூலுட்
கைய ராயவர் பலநுழைத் தாரவை கணித்தே
ஐய நீக்குத லரிதரி தேயத னூலிவ்
வைய நாடுவ ரோவுரி யவரயின் மதனே.

பொய்யில் வேதவி யாசன துரையெனும் புராணத்
தெய்வம் வாழ்தல் மீதெனப் பலகதை தெரித்தே
உய்ய லாமெனச் செய்தசு வடிகளு முளவான்
மெய்ய ரிங்குறல் விழைவர்கொ லோவயில் வேந்தே.

தனது நுதனஞ் சிறந்திடற் கோதனைச் சார்ந்தோர்
தினமு நன்குணரற் கோசில சுவடிகள் செய்தோன்
அனக வீசுரன் மொழியிவை யென்றது மறிந்தேன்
இனைய பூமியை யுறனல னேவயி லிறையே.

எந்த வானுட னெம்மட வரலும்வி ராயே
தந்த மானுட ருளரென லறிநதுமெஞ் சாதி
நந்து மோவெனும் படிறர்கள் சுவடிக ணம்பும்
இந்த மாநில மினிவிழை யேனயி லிறையே.

திரு.வி.க. இந்தியாவும் விடுதலையும், சாது அச்சுக்கூடம், சென்னை,
1956, பக்கம் 214-15.

14. Tiru. Vi. Ka., INTIYĀVUM VIṬUTALAIYUM, pages 214-215.

equality among the various groups failed to make any appreciable change in the caste-ridden Hindu society of their day. This failure to achieve equality was largely due to the Hindu kings, who jealously guarded the professional duties of each caste, and considered that as their Rāja-dharma.[15]

Besides the four-fold divisions of the caste system a fifth one was created which was known as the Pañcamar caste. The members of this caste were those who performed all sorts of menial work for the rest of society. For their service to the community, the community in turn not only humiliated them to an unimaginable degree but also repudiated their fundamental rights as human beings. When the system was actively functioning in the community, the social status of the Pañcamars was deplorably low and their dwelling places on the outskirts of the villages resembled those of a communal slave holding. The greatest anomaly was that those untouchables or Pañcamars in turn, imitated the Hindus of higher caste and divided themselves into a number of sub-castes, thereby weakening the unity and solidarity as a group. Many social reformers were sorry for their lot in life, and worked for their uplift. However, those who were against the improvement of their conditions argued that untouchability had the sanction of the Vedās. But renowned scholars in Vedic literature like Dayānand Saraswati rejected their claim and said that it was a travesty of truth.[16]

At a time when caste and untouchability were given prominence in Hindu society, certain far-sighted thinkers in Bengal and Gujarat raised their voice against the age-old customs. In Bengal, Rājā Rām Mohun Roy set the wheel of reform in motion. He genuinely believed that the 'distinctions of caste, introducing innumerable divisions and sub-divisions among men, has entirely deprived them of

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15. Tiru. Vi. Ka., MAṈITA VĀLKKAIYUM GĀṄDHIADIKALUM, pages 102–103 & 89–90.
16. Tiru.Vi.Ka., TAMIḺ TEṈTRAL ALLATU TALAIMAIPPOLIVU, page 95

patriotic feeling, and the multitude of religious rites and ceremonies and laws of purification had totally disqualified them from undertaking any difficult enterprise. So, in order to create an awakening in Hindu society, and to reorient Hindu religion, he inaugurated the famous theistic organization, the Brahmo Samāj, in 1828. The influence of the Brahmo Samāj spread throughout the length and breadth of the Indian sub-continent and as a result many more associations and samājams sprung up, of which, the Prarthana Samāj of Bombay (1867) and the Satya Samāj of Poona (1873) are worth citing here. These two organizations functioned under the able guidance of the Mahārāṣtrian leader Justice Govinda Rānadē (1842–1904), on the same lines as the Brahmo Samāj.

Meanwhile in Gujarat, Dayānand Saraswati formed the Ārya Samāj (1875) also a theistic organization, with a programme to reform Hindu society and religion. The Ārya Samāj has drawn its inspiration principally from the Vedas, more than from any other Scriptures of the Hindus. T.V.K. was fully aware of the high ideals for which the reform movements of North India stood, and made his comment on the Ārya Samāj as an organization inaugurated with the basic idea of rejuvenating the Hindu society, by removing the evils that had crept into it, like the caste system.[17] Last in line of these reformers was Gandhiji, whose interpretation of Sanātana-dharma was quite original. It had the approval neither of the reformers nor of the orthodox pundits. Gandiji always considered himself as a Sanātana Hindu. Varṇāśhrama-dharma according to him 'is inherent in human nature systematised by the Hindu religion for its social use.' He felt that the four-fold classification of caste would satisfy the basic needs of society, and warned that any further division would be a serious blow. Gandhiji also explained that by caste division he meant only the duties assigned to different sections of society, but did not include any privileges.

17. Tiru. Vi. Ka., INTIYĀVUM VIṬUTALAIYUM, pages 250-251.

To presume that caste denotes any privileged status of an individual, he said, was contrary to the spirit of Hinduism. He also held that restrictions on inter-dining and inter-marriage were accidental aspects, rather than an integral part of Varṇāśrama-dharma. T.V.K., while generally accepting Gandhiji's viws on Varṇāśrama-dharma, sharply disagreed when it came to the question of work being allotted on the basis of caste; and pointed out that this was contrary to the very nature of human beings. He strongly felt that to restrict or curb the natural inclination of a person for a particular aspect of work, even though it was not the vocation of his caste, was a criminal waste of energy and as such it should not be encouraged as a norm of society. Thus T.V.K. was quite familiar with all the views of Gandhiji as well as the other reformers of North India on the age-old caste system, because references are found in abundance in almost all his works.[18]

After a comprehensive study of the social movements of North India, T.V.K. made a study of the history of the caste system in South India, especially in Tamilnad. In his view the ancient Tamil Classics speak only of the regional division known as 'the mountain region (Kuṟinci), the pasture-lands (Mullai), the temporary dry, waterless arid patches (Pālai), the agricultural region (Marutam), and the maritime tracts (Neytal)'. Besides this five fold division of land and the corresponding occupations, there was hardly any mention about caste divisions. But the Tolkāppiyam, the oldest Tamil grammatical treatise, not only makes this stereotype land division, but also indicates that the inhabitants of those regions were classified as Mēlōr and Kīḻōr. It is very hard now to establish the motive, or the true significance of these divisions. Yet there are grounds to think and believe that there existed in early Tamil society a division of society analogous to the caste system. However, when T.V.K. makes an analysis of the genesis of the caste system in early Tamil society, he

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18. Tiru. Vi. Ka., MANITA VĀḺKKAIYUM GĀNDHIADIKAḶUM, pages 103-107.

skips over this point and summarily states that Tamil Society had only land divisions, but not caste divisions. He, however, admits that the caste system in all its blemishes crept into Tamil society at a very early stage. T.V.K. felt that an analysis of origin of the caste system, its spread, and its continuity, was a study not worth attempting.

However, the caste system became a permanent feature of Tamil society and as a result the entire Tamil population was divided into Brāhmins, non-Brāhmins and Ādidrāvidās. Some felt that the Brāhmins and the non-Brāhmins were of the Aryan and Dravidian stock, respectively. Such an unorthodox classification was based on certain oft-changing historical evidences, which also contributed to additional internal dissensions in society.[19] Furthermore, among the non-Braāhmins and Brāhmins, innumerable sub-castes sprouted like mushrooms to disintegrate Tamil society. Naturally, this created an alarming effect on the minds of thinkers and scholars of Tamil Nad. As early as the second century of the Christian era, Tiruvaḷḷuvar spoke of equality in birth in his famous work *Tirukkural* thus: 'All human beings have birth common to them, but differ as regards their characteristics, because of the different qualities of their actions'.[20] During the 7th century the Nayanmars and the Alwars relentlessly preached against the evils of the caste system.[21] In the 12th century, Cēkkiḷar composed the *Periyapuṟāṇam*, a detailed biography of the Nāyanmārs, wherein he narrates not only the story of their lives but also the social conditions of Tamilnad at that period. The Nāyanmārs, though belonging to various castes, lived above all petty

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19. Tiru. Vi. Ka., CĪRTIRUTTAM ALLATU IḶAMAI VIRUNTU, page 109.
20. Tiruvaḷḷuvar, TIRUKKURAL, Chap. 98, Kural 2, quoted in Tiru. Vi. Ka's Cirtiruttam allatu Iḷamai Viruntu p. 38 and in Manita Vāḷkkaiyum Gāndhiadikaḷum, page. 109.
21. Tiru. Vi. Ka., CĪRTIRUTTAM ALLATU IḶAMAI VIRUNTU, [page 38.
 „ CITTA MĀRKAM, page 36.
 „ TAMIL TENRAL ALLATU TALAMIPPOLIVU, page 49.

differences of caste. References such as that of a Vellālā Saint Tirunāvukkarasar (Circa 7th Century A.D.) along with a Yālpānar caste saint accompanying a Brāhmin saint Gnāṉacampantar to all the Saiva temples in which he was normally forbidden to enter, prove that the Nāyanmārs rejected the discriminatory practices of the caste system. T.V.K., an ardent student of the *Periyapūraṉam*, was able to perceive its inner spirit.[22] As lately as in the 19th century, Rāmalinka Adikal (1823–1874) a great socio-religious leader and a mystic poet of the Tamils, perceived the defects of the caste system, and, gave expression to them in his poetical work the *Tiruvaruṭpā*.[23] Rāmalingar observed that even temples were not free from caste prejudices; so he established a common prayer hall at Vadalūr, in South Arcot, Madras, known as the Vadalūr Sabai,[24] where all could go and worship, irrespective of caste or other considerations. A critical study of the Tamil classics as well as the works of other liberal scholars strengthened T.V.K.'s conviction, and as such, he resolved to work for the eradication of the caste system. As he was closely associated with religious, political and labour movements, he was able to propagate his ideas through these fields, and to achieve a certain amount of success.

Religion and Caste

Religious activities in Tamilnad have been carried out by temples as well as by religious mutts and private associations. Unfortunately, they were also influenced by the

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22. Tiru. Vi. Ka., CITTA MĀRKAM, pages 36–37.
 „ CİRTIRUTTAM ALLATU IḶAMAI VIRUNTU, page 39.

23. " நால்வருணம் ஆசிரமம் ஆசாரம் முதலா
 நவின்றகலைச் சரிதமெலாம் பிள்ளைவிளை யாட்டே
 மேல்வருணந் தோல்வருணங் கண்டறிவா ரிலைநீ
 விழித்திதுபா ரென்றெனக்கு விளம்பியசற் குருவே."

 இராமலிங்க சுவாமிகள், திருவருட்பா, ஆறுவது திருமுறை, அருட்பெருஞ்சோதி அச்சகம், சென்னை – 1. பக்கம் 168.

 " சாதியு மதமுஞ் சமயமுந் தவிர்த்தே
 சாத்திரக் குப்பையுந் தளர்ந்தேன் . . ."

 Ibid. பக்கம் 120.

24. Tiru. Vi. Ka, IRĀMALIṄKA CUVĀMIKAL TIRUVUḶḶAM, page, 34–35.

taboos of caste. The Hindus of higher caste, who were closely associated with these religious institutions, strictly adhered to caste divisions and prevented certain sections of people, who could be classified under the broad heading 'Ādidrāvidās', from entering the temples for worship. Saivā mutts permitted only the Saivites of higher caste to be initiated, and only they were allowed to study the religious scriptures in their schools. Saivā associations also practised commensal restrictions during religious functions. T.V.K. was fully aware that only the Saivites of higher caste were behind all these activities, and therefore thought fit to spread the message of true Saivism through his speeches at religious conferences. On those occasions he chose the oft-quoted lines from the *Saivā Samaya Neri or the Path of Saivā Religion* which state that the true concept of Saivism is eternal love; the true manifestation of eternal love is Sivā. They summarized the whole concept of Saivism and according to this all beings, animate and inanimate, deserve love and compassion at the hands of all Saivites, because Sivā the Supreme creator resides in them all. "How could a religion with such a message to humanity", asked T.V.K., "ever subscribe to the evils of the caste system."[25] However, the Saivites of higher caste asserted that the Saivā religion approved of caste distinctions. To refute their arguments T.V.K. narrated the biographies of the Saiva Saints as detailed in the *Periyapurāṇam*. He pointed out that Tirunīlakaṇṭa Yālppāṇar, a Saiva Saint of a depressed class not only toured with Gnānasambantar, a saint of the Brāhmin community, to various Saivā temples but also reproduced his devotional songs then and there, with faultless skill on the Yāḷ instrument. Also the Brahmin saint Appūti Adikal, revered Tirunāvukkarasu, a Veḷḷāḷā saint, as his guru, and dined with him during his pilgrimage to Tinkalūr. Another Saivā saint, Sundaramūrti Nāyanār, also of the Brāhmin community, married a temple dancer's daughter Paravaiyār. Moreover Sundaramūrti sang in the

25. Tiru. Vi. Ka, CAIVATTIṈ CAMARACAM, page 59.

Tiruttoṇtar Togai, a concise biography of Saivā Saints, that he was the disciple of the disciples of Lord Sivā! By quoting profusely from the *Periyapurāṇam* and other Saivite books, T.V.K. was able to correct the false notions of the Saivites belonging to higher caste, and impressed upon them that the Nāyanmārs were the forerunners of social reform in Tamil Nad.[26] T.V.K. deprecated the attitude of the higher caste Saivites for worshipping the Nāyanmārs without following in the least, their teachings.[27] He also made it clear in his writings and speeches that Saivism would not have a future if such evils persisted in the name of the Saivā religion.[28]

> 'Saivites of upper caste celebrate festivals for Appar and Mānikkavācakar without following their teachings. They read the biographies of Tirunāḷaippōvār, Appūti Adikal, Tirunīlanakkar, Tirunīlakaṇṭa Yāḷppānar, Naminanti Adikal, and others, without their ideals being practised. Nampiyāṇṭār sang that he was the disciple of all the disciples of Lord Siva; without attaching any importance to caste or creed. The icons of the saints are installed in temples. Temple worship and the recitation of religious books are still very popular among the Saivites. But in actual life do they follow what they read? Lord Sivā liberated the souls of a snake, a spider, an elephant, in short, birds and beasts from part of the cyclic order of births and deaths; but that in His temple some human beings are not allowed to pray seems absurd and out of tune with Saivism. Unless this is realised as cruel on the part of the Saivites of higher caste, Saivism may not have a future. The Saiva Saints like

26. Tiru. Vi. Ka., CITTA MĀRKAM, page 36.
Tiru. Vi. Ka., CĪRTIRUTTAM ALLATU IḶAMAI VIRUNTU, pages 38-39.
Tiru. Vi. Ka., CAIVATTIṈ CAMARACAM, page 58.
27. Tiru. Vi Ka., CĪTTA MĀṚKAM, pages 36-37.
Tiru. Vi Ka., IRĀMALINKA CUVĀMIKAḶ TIRUVUḶḶAM, page 34.
28. Tiru. Vi. Ka., CITTA MĀRKAM, page 37.

Gnāṉasambantar sang that 'Siva is all pervading and is in all beings. To strive to achieve oneness with the Supreme which is in all beings is true Saivism.'[29]

Politics and Caste

Historians attribute various causes for the loss of India's independence. T.V.K. felt that the evils of the caste system were the main cause. At first the caste system simply meant the occupational division of society for the benefit of society in general. In course of time his basic conception underwent a rapid change and the functional division degenerated into castes based rather on hereditary right than on aptitude and function. This notion became popular among the people and so the rulers also guarded it assiduously from being changed. Consequently it resulted in the fragmentation of society 'into an inchoate mass of small units' rendering the development of any common social feelings impossible. The division of society into a number of small units with no common social spirit, tended to hamper the progress of society both culturally and economically. Further, it enfeebled society and as a result certain far reaching consequences took place in the political sphere. Due to the inherent weakness of the caste system the people even at a time of national emergency failed to cooperate among themselves, and this paved the way for foreign rule in India.

'Caste divisions on the basis of birth was the cause for the degeneration of the Hindu society. The moment the caste system was corrupted into a hereditary vocational system, it inflicted a severe blow on society as well as on the country itself. Unfortunately the formation of caste based on hereditary descent was guarded by the rulers of that time. The result was the gradual hardening of the caste system and the consequent disunity in Indian

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29. *Tiru. Vi. Ka.*, CITTA MĀRKAM, pages 36–38.
Tiru. Vi. Ka., IRĀMALIṄKA CUVĀMIKAḶ TIRUVUḶḶAM, page 35.

society. According to the rules of the caste system only a few could get military training, and as the rest were engaged in non-military professions, thus contributed to the loss of freedom.[30]

> " India lost its freedom not because of the weapons of the Britishers but because of the caste system, superstitious beliefs, untouchability, the subordinate status of women, and religious bigotry ".[31]

Caste-ridden Indian society failed to unite even under foreign domination. The Britishers fully understood the weakness of their Indian subjects, and they refrained from reforms which might affect their interests. Besides, they passed legislation to perpetuate caste functions. The Indians unable to comprehend the motive behind these enactments, further divided themselves by their representations in State Legislatures and other places.

> ' Take for example our present State Legislatures where you have representatives from the Muslims, non-Muslims, Christians and Scheduled castes and from various other groups. Why did the British Parliament institute such laws ? Was it due to their desire to keep in tune with the trend of the Country? But the Britishers never considered whether it was in the interests of India to pass such legislation which indirectly perpetuated numerous caste divisions. Because of their vested interests they encouraged further divisions. If the numbers elected to legislative assemblies are drawn on the basis of caste or creed or religion, how can unity be achieved in a caste-ridden society ?[32]

This trend helped the foreign rulers to a considerable extent. So some Englishmen with the cooperation of educated Indians, inaugurated the Indian National Congress (1885 A.D.)

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30. Tiru. Vi. Ka. INTIYĀVUM VITUṬALAIYUM, page 38.
31. Ibid. page 150.
32. Ibid. pages 230-231.

to 'regenerate the mental, moral, social and political activities' of the people of India. Thus the movement was broadly based and free from communal and other distinctions.

> 'Congress was an all India organisation formed for the purpose of safeguarding Indian interests and to attain Independence. It was a non-communal organisation with a mission to fulfil. The origin of this movement bears testimony to this fact. Its first President was a Christian the second a Parsee, and the third a Muslim. Some Hindus as well as Englishmen were also Presidents. ...Allan Octavian Hume inaugurated the Congress movement which became a powerful organization, in the fight for India's Independence'.[33]

T.V.K. joined the Congress movement in 1917 in order to work for the independence of India.[34] While he was working for the spread of the Congress movement in Tamil Nad, he had ample opportunity to observe the various social trends in Tamil society. At that time it was divided into two major groups namely the Brāhmins and the non-Brāhmins. The animosity between them, to a certain extent, was not conducive to harmony in Tamil society. Some stated that the Brāhmins were Āryans and the non-Brāhmins were Dravidians and this created further strained relationship between them. In order to bring about friendship and unity between these two sections of community T.V.K. criticised the classification of the Brāhmins into Āryans, and the non-Brāhmins into Dravidians, pointing out that these two ethnic groups were subject to miscegenation thousands of years ago. Therefore he said that the present generation should consider itself to be the result of that fusion, and therefore to divide the Tamils into Āryans and Dravidians

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33. Ibid. page 258.
Tiru. Vi. Ka., Tiru. Vi. Ka. Vāḷkaikkuṟippukkaḷ, page 298.
Tiru. Vi. Ka., Tamiḻ Cōlai Allatu Kaṭṭurait tiraṭṭu, part 90, pages 385-365.

34. Tiru. Vi. Ka., Tiru. Vi. Ka. Vāḷkaikkuṟippukkaḷ page 297.

should be viewed as illogical. The proper attitude therefore with regard to this question would be to consider all those who regarded Tamil as their mother-tongue as Tamils and to treat them as such, irrespective of any other consideration.

> 'Let us consider the Āryan and Dravidian conflict and find out whether it contains any truth. How is it possible to divide the entire population of South India into Āryans and Dravidians? Historical evidence proves that the Āryans came to the South thousands of years ago. Could any one believe that these ethnic groups lived in complete isolation during these years? To-day, we find, the emergence of the Anglo-Indian community, which is the result of the miscegenation between the Europeans and Indians. Why cannot we consider therefore, the present generation as a progeny of the inter-mixture of Āryans and Dravidians. This is further confirmed by the similarity of customs between the Brāhmins and the non-Brāhmins. Contrary to fact, to state that a section of the South Indian community is Āryan and the rest is Dravidian, is beyond truth. The racial history of Southern India is an extremely complicated subject and we cannot at this stage utilise the conclusions of historians, to fan the fire of the Āryan-Dravidian conflict. Since ethnological evidence is forthcoming, the findings of the historians are bound to be rather tentative and inconclusive, and therefore there is no point in using them to create unnecessary division in society. According to historians, conflicts might have occurred at the initial stages between the Āryans and Dravidians, and for that reason we should not continue the same conflict now.[35]

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35. Tiru. Vi. Ka., TAMIḺ TEṈṞAL ALLATU TALAMAIPPOḶIVU, pages 90-91.
Tiru. Vi. Ka., CĪRTIRUTTAM ALLATU IḶAMAI VIRUNTU, pages 105-106.
Tiru. Vi. Ka., INTIYĀVUM VIṬUTALAIYUM, pages 108-110.

According to T.V.K., the seeds for the Āryan and Dravidian conflict were sown by the English educated non-Brāmins. Only they, in order to further their interests in life, engaged in a compaign of hatred against the Brāmins.

> Generally the English educated persons are engaged in instigating the members of their community against another, in the name of upliftment of their community.[36] They learned the English language in order to earn their livelihood. Corresponding to the number of English educated persons, the available vacancies in Government are not too many. So many are without suitable jobs, and only they are engaged in organising the members of their community to oppose advanced communities. To prevent these differences in society, emphasis on English for earning a livelihood should be discouraged, and all possible encouragement should be given to commercial education. Only then will the country prosper without these animosities.[37]

At a time, when, non-Brāhmin intellectuals were engaged in reorganising the non-Brāmin community as a whole, Sir P. Tiyāgarāja Cheṭṭiār (1852–1925), in order to raise the general condition of the non-Brāhmin community to the level of the Brāmins, thought of organising a separate party. In 1916, at the Saiva Siddhanta Mahāsamājam Saivite Conference, he was invited to deliver a speech on 'The Progress and Uplift of the non-Brāhmin community.' He exhorted in that speech that the non-Brāhmins should not have faith either in the Congress movement or in the Self-rule movement because the Brāhmins have a monopoly of them. That speech of Cheṭṭiār was the chief cause for the inauguration of the Justice party in 1917.[38] Its activities created unrest

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36. Ibid. page 218.
37. Tiru. Vi. Ka., TAMIL CŌLAI ALLATU KAṬṬURAIT TIRAṬṬU, Part I pages 89–90.
38. Tiru. Vi. Ka., Tiru. Vi. Ka. VĀLKAIKURIPPUKKAḶ, pp. 255-256.

in Tamil society which caused bitterness between the Brāhmins and the non-Brāhmins. The Brāhmins realised the potency of the Justice party and therefore they united among themselves more closely than ever before. The propaganda of the Justice party also drew the attention of the non-Brāhmin members in the Congress party, of whom some began to waver as to which party would be of service to the non-Brāhmin community, as a whole. Naturally, such a wavering attitude of the non-Brāhins caused a crisis within the Congress party. Further, the Justice party's campaign for caste representation in all walks of life, as well as the propaganda carried out by their party newspapers *Justice,* (English) and *Tirāviṭan* (Tamil) roused the feelings of the non-Brāhmin community. T.V.K., who was watching the situation carefully thought fit to counteract the vicious propaganda of the Justice party, before it went out of control. So he made his first political speech on 'The Dravidians and Congress' in 1917, at a Congress meeting, at which he denounced the activities of the Justice party, and appealed to the non-Brāhmin community not to be carried away by the malicious propaganda of the Justice party that it represented all non-Brāhmins in the South.[39]

Encouraged by this speech, the non-Brāhmins in the Congress party decided to form a separate party to counterbalance the activities of the Justice party. So, under the presidentship of Mr. Kesava Pillai 'The Madras Presidency Association' was formed, with the basic principles of the Congress party, but pledged to safeguard the interests of the non-Brāhmin community. The new organisation was formed with T.V.K.'s cooperation, to resist effectively the malignant propaganda carried out by the Justice party.

'Justice' and 'Tirāviṭan', the two party papers of the Justice party were spreading the principles of the party among the masses. T.V.K. was well aware of the potentiality for evil, of the communal newspapers.

39. Ibid. page 259.

"Newspapers are powerful organs, and if they desire, they could fan or extinguish the flames of communalism. If the Indian newspapers make a vow not to encourage communalism, then there would not be any communal chaos in the country. If the newspapers realise their duty they owe to the nation, and change their polity, then there will be absolute peace in society.[40]

So he joined the Tamil newspaper 'Tēsabaktaṉ' as an Editor, and served in that capacity for two and a half years.[41] Later he started his own paper Navasakti to reduce the influence of the Justice party's Tamil organ, the 'Tirāviṭan'.

'While the Tirāviṭan was engaged in arousing communal hatred in Tamil society, *Tēsabaktaṉ* was preaching communal tolerance. Therefore these two papers were working for diametrically opposite ends. On the one hand *Tēsabaktaṉ* was educating the people on the harms of communal hatred. Owing to the indefatigable work of *Tēsabaktaṉ* the people understood the dangers of communalism. So the influence of Tirāviṭan, as well as the hold of the Justice party on the non-Brāhmin community, began to wane.[42]

Moreover, he pointed out through his papers that communal representation would not only disturb the harmony among the various communities, but also impede India's attainment of independence.

'Communal interest replaces the National interest in man. It must be remembered that the national interest includes the community interest also'.[43]

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40. Tiru. Vi. Ka., Tiru. Vi. Ka. VĀLKAIKKRIPPUKKAḶ, page 236.
 " " INΓIYĀVUM VIṬUΓALAIUM, page 231-232.
41. Tiru. Vi. Ka., Tiru. Vi. Ka. VĀLKAIKKURIPPUKKAḶ, page 269.
42. Ibid page 269
43. Tiru. Vi. Ka., TAMIL CŌLAI ALLATU KAṬṬURAI Γ ΓIRAṬṬU, Part I pages 89-90.

Many believed that communal representation would help the cause of the non-Brāmins. But it might probably, create jealousy among the non-Brāhmins themselves because of their anxieiy to compete for some of the best positions in Government. So, there might be further disharmony in society.[44] Further, he made it clear to the advocates of communal representation that the initiative to work for higher posts would also be no more, if it were to be adopted. This would result in inefficiency in the day to day administration of the country. Moreover it would lead to the perpetuation of communal differences.

'You are all aware of the demand for communal representation in all walks of life. Those who welcome it with the hope that it will enable the non-Brāhmins to occupy high positions in the Government are going to be deceived. But we must ponder whether this will solve the problem? Because, in the Governm ent there are very few executive posts to be offered for too many non-Brāhmin contestants. This will create unnecessary competition among non-Brāmins thomselves. In Tirunelveli there is a movemeut against the Veḷḷāḷā community as well as in other parts of South India against the Reddi community. In all communal conferences, resolutions are passed for their community representation, and if it happēns in all community conferences where will this lead to? If castes multiply into innumerable subcastes, when are we to achieve independence? Another aspect of the problem should also be considered now. The cry of the non-Brāhmin leaders, concerning the occupation of high posts in Government service by Brāhmins, is due to their education and hard work. By communal representation we cannot reduce their influence in any way, unless the non-Brāhmins are going to be affected more than anybody else. The little amount of incentive these people have, is going to be neglected

44. Tiru. Vi. Ka., CAMARACA TĪPAM, page 23.

> by communal representation. Further in Legislatures only the non-Brāhmin Jamindars are going to be represented, while the majority of the non-Brāmin community is going to remain in the same level. Definitely, communal representation would prevent healthy competition between various communities. It would increase, further the factions in society.[45]

When T.V.K. presided over the 31st Annual Conference of the Tamilnad Congress, at Kāncīpuram, 35 miles south west of Madras City, on November 21st and 22nd, 1925, a resolution came to him in support of communal representation. T.V.K. not only rejected it but also explained to those attending the session, the harmful effects of such a resolution and appealed for their co-operation, to remove caste differences in political activity.

> 'In this conference communal feelings were stirred up more than ever before. I appeal to you to be free from such cursed feelings. I do not claim to be either a Brāhmin or a non-Brāhmin but always claim to be an Indian. I relinguished my teaching profession and joined the independence movement for two reasons. One was the detention of Annie Besant (1847–1933), and the other was the inauguration of the communal Justice party. If the communal differences continue between the non-Brāhmins and the Brāhmins I doubt very much if independence will be attained. So let us forget our petty communal differences, and inculcate the national spirit that we are all Indians. If we adopt a tolerant attitude in our day to day affairs, many of our problems will be solved..... We have also passed a resolution on untouchability....... So long as this persists in society, I emphatically say that we won't attain independence..... In Tamilnad unity will be achieved through the Tamil Language alone.[46]

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45. Tiru. Vi. Ka., TAMIL CŌLAI ALLATU KAṬṬURAIT TIRAṬṬU, Part I pages. 124-125.
46. Tiru. Vi. Ka., Tiru. Vi. Ka. VĀLKAIKKURIPPUKKAḶ, pages 365-366.

Labour Movement

T.V.K. devoted most of his life-time, nearly 25 years, for the amelioration of the condition of the working classes. He served in various capacities in many labour unions in Madras. Through labour organisations also he led his crusade against the evils of the caste-system. He also guarded the labour unions in which he was associated from being influenced by the evils of the caste-system. Had the labour unions been influenced by caste considerations, the unity among the workers would have been wrecked; and the movement would have perished in its infancy. Under the able leadership and guidance of T.V.K. the entire labour class became united in their rank and file. However, in 1921, when the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills' strike was in full swing, some interested persons instigated caste feelings among the workers in order to break the strike. The leader of the Ādidrāvidā community, one Mr. Rājā, not only persuaded his people not to participate in the strike, but also pointed out to them that as a result of the strike, the higher caste people would benefit more than they and thus exhorted them to return to work. Persuaded by this malicious propaganda a few returned to the mills, but the majority were faithful to the cause of the labour movement, and pledged their whole-hearted support for the strike. Rājā, who happened to be a close friend of T.V.K. expressed the same opinion to T.V.K. Having heard this, T.V.K. said that the labour movement was a non-communal organisation. If it became powerful and well organised, caste and other considerations would be relegated to a secondary position.[47]

Conclusion :

T.V.K. worked for a casteless society through religious, political and labour organisations. He achieved some success through religious and labour organisations. Caste, which played a dominant role in religion at the beginning of this

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47. Tiru. Vi. Ka., Tiru. Vi. Ka. VĀLKAIKKURIPPUKKAL, pages 573-574

century, later started playing also the same role in politics. When caste feelings were stirred up in Tamil society by the Justice Party, T.V.K. stressed the need for communal harmony in society through his political speeches. And it was mainly due to his counter-movement that the party lost its hold in Tamilnad. Later, when T.V.K. observed that the Congress party too indulged in rousing communal feelings, during the elections as well as at the time of forming ministries, he decided to quit politics to devote his future to social work. This finds clear expression in some of his works.

> The Congress also indulges in stirring communal feelings at the time of elections. If such is the fate of a non-communal organisation like the Congress, there should be no surprise if all democratic organisations in this country fall a prey to communalism.[48] In Congress rule, communal disturbances are very common. When men of narrow vision come to power, they freely express their petty feelings. Communal conflicts are not confined to the Brāhmins and non-Brāhmins alone. It is there among the different sects of Brāhmins themselves. To cite an incident, the Iyengārs of Srirañgam openly accused the Vaṭakalai Vaishnavities, that they dominate the Teṉkalai Vasihnavities in the political field because of their power and influence in the Ministry.[49]

In spite of these communal disturbances often erupting, T.V.K. firmly believed that the evils of the caste system would be wiped out from Tamil society in course of time, because he had an abiding faith in the cyclic order of Nature.[50] But he doubted very much whether his ambition of seeing a casteless Tamil society in his life-time, would be fulfilled. However, he believed that the future generation of youths would work towards that end. Therefore he sugges-

48. Tiru Vi. Ka. Intiyāvum Vituṭalaiyum, page 315 and 318.
49. Ibid page 318.
50. Tiru. Vi. Ka. Tamiḻ Cōlai allatu kaṭṭurait tiraṭṭu, Part I. page 94.

ted some ways and means in particular, to the youths of Tamilnad, to eradicate the caste system from Tamil society. His suggestions were:

1. On no account should consideration of high or low caste be entertained;

2. The choice of a teacher should not be based on caste, but should be on the strength of his character;

3. Untouchability should not be encouraged under any circumstance;

4. One should not associate oneself with any work which has a communal tinge;

5. All possible encouragement should be given to popularise inter-caste marriages, which alone will speed up the decline of the caste system;

6. Youngsters should be encouraged to tour foreign countries during their holidays so that they may see for themselves the fallacy of the caste system at home.[61]

61. Tiru. Vi. Ka., INTIYĀVUM VIṬUTALAIYUM, pages 40-41.
Tiru. Vi. Ka., TAMIḺ TEṈRAL ALLATU TALAMAIPPOLIVU, pages 18-19.
Tiru. Vi. Ka., CAMARACA TĪPAM, pages 18-19.

Concepts of Religion in Sangam Literature and in Devotional Literature*

S. ARUMUGA MUDALIAR

"Religion[1] at the present day has become a subject of critical and scientific enquiry of both theoretical and practical significance and attracted increasing attention." The reasons for this attitude are not far to seek. They are :— (1) the rapid progress of scientific knowledge and thought, (2) the deeper intellectual interest in the subject, (3) the wide-spread tendencies in all parts of the world to reform or reconstruct or even to replace religion by some body of thought, more rational and scientific and less superstitious, (4) effect of social, political, and international events of a sort which, in the past, have both influenced and been iufluenced by religion, whenever the ethical or moral value of activities or conditions is questioned, the value of religion is involved, (5) ultimately there arises problems of justice, human history, God and the universe involving problems of the relation between 'religious' and other ideas, the validity of the ordinary knowledge and practicable conceptions of 'experience.'

The word religion is derived from the Latin word Religere meaning "reread and reflected upon" or from the Latin word Religare having the idea of 'obligation', 'binding'. The term is defined in various ways, but the following definitions may be considered as reasonable. The simplest of these is of Taylor. (1) Belief in spiritual beings— (2) Durkheim—(The Elementary fōrms of the religious life). A religion is a united system of beliefs and practices relative

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1. Encyclopaedia of religion and Ethics Vol. 10, pages 662-693

to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden—beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community the church—temple or mosque—synagogue etc. (3) Galloway. (The Philosophy of religion)—"Religion is man's faith in a power beyond himself whereby he seeks to satisfy emotional needs and gain stabilility of life and which he expresses in acts of worship and service" (4) Ebaird (Evolution of religion). "A man's religion, if it is sincere is that consciousness in which he takes up a definite attitude to the world and gathers to a focus all the meaning of his life".

With these definitions of religion let us for a moment consider the coucepts of religion in Sangam literature and later Devotional Literature in Tamil. The Tamil equivalent of the term religion (Sanskrit மதம்) is சமயம். 'சமை' probably is the root and may mean "that which is systematised and developed" properly.

The 3rd Sangam age with innumerable poets of all occupations strikes even the casual reader as an age of universal education and high thinking. It is considered as the golden age— The Augustan age of Tamil Literature and Culture—an age of creative imagination. The Thousands of verses composed by them were collected and codified in the forms of anthologies called "Pattu and Thohai" namely—"The Pattupattu" (the ten idylls) and the Ettuthohai, 8 works consisting of Narrinai, Kuruntohai, Patirrupattu, Paripadal, Kalithohai, Ainkurunuru, Ahananuru, Purananuru, and the Patinenkilkkanakku (18 works). The twin Epics consisting of Silappadikaram and Manimekalai—the first from the pen of one considered to be a Jain and the other from the pen of a Buddhist—closely followed the above anthologies.

These two mark an important stage in the history of Jainism and Buddhism in the south. "The defects which Tirugnanasambandar points out in Jainism and Buddhism were non-existent during this period. South Indian Jainism is sometimes accused of degrading women, but the Jain Epic really deifies the chaste woman and so does the Buddhist

epic Manimekalai where the girl born of the community of public women becomes the merciful saviour of the poor and the great teacher of the right path". (T.P.M. sixty fourth birth day commemoration volume pp. 110/63 20–21) "Manimekalai and Silappadikaram describe the philosophical discussions carried on by the followers of various schools of thought on the day of the national festival or Indira Vila in the Capital city of the Colas. Manimekalai gives us a picture of the conflicting philosophies and code of life popular among the people of these times and for the first time in the history of Indian thought gives us, in one of its chapters, a hand book of Indian Philosophies. From all these works it is possible to collect a clear and vivid picture of the state of religion in Tamilakam in those early centuries of the Christian era.

When we examine the condition of the religions, we find that several were prevailing simultaneously and amicably without animosity and enmity. Religions like Saivism, Vaishnavism (mixture of Brahminism in them), Jainism and Buddhism all these flourished side by side especially in the capital cities like Puhar,[2] Kanchipuram, Uraiyur, Madurai,[3] Karur etc., and in the moffusil regions, with temples, Viharas and monasteries for the various gods of these faiths like Siva, Muruga, Tirumal, Baladeva, Krishna, Korravai. Lord

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2. சிலம்பு—இந்திர விழா ஊரெடுத்த காதை, 169—173.
   1. பிறவாயாக்கைப் பெரியோன் கோயில்.
   2. அறுமுகச் செவ்வேள் அணிதிகழ் கோயில்.
   3. வால்வளை மேனி வாலியோன் (Balarama) கோயில்.
   4. நீலமேனி நெடியோன் (Vishnu திருமால்) கோயில்.
   5. மாலை வெண்குடை மன்னவன் (Indra) கோயில்.
   6. அறவோர் பள்ளியு மறவோம் படையும் (அருகர் புத்தர் பள்ளிகள்).
   7. மதுரைக்காஞ்சி.
   8. பத்தினி தேவிக் கோயில்.
   9. கார்த்திகை & திருவாதிரை, இந்திர விழா முதலிய திருவிழாக்கள்.

3. மதுரையில் இந்திரவிழா :

   நுதல்விழி நாட்டத் திறையோன் கோயிலும்
   உவணச் சேவல் உயர்த்தோன் நியமும்
   மேழி வலனுயர்த்த வெள்ளை நகரமும்
   கோழிச்சேவல் கொடியோன் கோட்டம்.

Ganapathi is not heard of in these days. He appears on the scene only after the 7th century A.D. No ill-will or hatred existed between these religions but only cordiality and sociability. Religious tolerance was the key-note of the relationship that existed between the various religious communities. There was religious toleration, and the spirit of free enquiry or the liberty of the human understanding. The monarchs themselves encouraged religious discussions inviting teachers of all religious sects and arranging for them in public halls, (பட்டிமன்றம்), encouraging them to preach their own doctrines during festivals. They protected impartially the temples and monasteries of all sects. Though believing in the doctrines of a particular sect, they cautiously avoided interfering with the rites and ceremonies of rival faiths. This religious liberty had a great and salutary influence upon the intellectual and moral development of the Tamils. In Manimekalai, we find, that, in the Indiravila, in the Pattimanram, that was held, all the religious sects, with Manimekalai as the head, took part in the expositions of their respective faiths.

As usual amongst all nations—ancient and modern—the *philosophical doctrines of the Tamils were far apart from the popular religious beliefs and ceremonies.* While the learned few with an earnest mind of deep research attempted to obtain correct notions of the causes and consequences of existence, the masses whose untutored minds could not conceive nature as a whole took a low and sensual view of life, and worshipped a number of gods and goddesses. The semi-barbarous tribes who were mostly addicted to war and bloodshed had ferocious and savage deities whose altars reeked with the blood of slaughtered animals. Communities who were more civilised and had cultivated arts of peace worshipped milder gods who were content with offerings of fruits, flowers, rice, incense etc. More advanced societies whose cultured mind could realise abstract ideas such as the reign of law (aṟam or Dharma) and the Unity of nature, endeavoured to conform their lives to supreme moral intelligence, which rules the universe.

This is exactly the picture we could glean from Sangam works about the state of religion among the people.

Long before the Sangam days, in the days that preceded it according to the earliest Tamil grammatical work Tolkappiyam, the Tamilians had regional gods for each of the natural regions—Kurinji, Mullai, Marutham, Neithal and Palai—(composite region of Mullai and Kurinji). Tolkappiyam states that Mayon (Tirumal), Seyon (Murugan), Vendan (Indiran) and Varunan, were respectively the gods of Mullai, Kurinji, Marutham and Neithal, while it is said that Korravai (Kali) was the goddess for the composite region of Palai.

Apart from these, as already remarked, there was belief in one higher force above all these-omnipresent in all Nature and Human Nature, which is called by the name of இறை (that which settles in all—இறு = to settle) or கடவுள் that which transcends all கட = கடந்துசெல், தாண்டிச்செல், அப்பாற்செல் to transcend, or கந்தழி = பற்றுக் கோடின்றித் தானாக இருப்பது—that which exists without support.

Among the religious beliefs and ceremonies followed by various communities, tho following typical ones may be mentioned :—

(1) *The Eyinar* of Palai worshipped the dreaded goddess Korravai (equated with Kali), and sacrificed buffaloes at her shrine. She had matted hair, shining skin of cobra, carved tusk of boar in her hair resembling the crescent—string of tiger's teeth, striped skin of tiger, bow, stag to ride, drums and pipes. The priestess propitiated her thus : " The cattle sheds in the villages around us are all full of oxen—but the yards of the Eyinar who should live by robbery and plunder are empty... If you do not offer the sacrifice due to her who rides the stag she will not bless your bows with victory." Parrots, wild fowls, peacocks, perfumed pastes, powders, fragrant sandal, boiled bears and grains and oblations of rice mixed with blood and flesh were offered.[4]

4. Silappadikaram, XII-22-39

Soldiers and Kings joined hands in these offerings. Some warriors even offered their heads. Kali danced with Siva—so much was she dreaded that when once the doors of her temple remained closed and could not be opened, the Pandiyan King believed it to be a token of displeasure and prayed for her mercy and appeased her wrath by granting the revenue of 2 villages for expenses for her worship.[5] Some of the lower classes (as well as Nagas) worshipped stones, springs etc. In Kaviripumpattinam a stone was set up in the public square visited by those suffering from effects of poison, witchcraft or venomous bites.

There was also a spring, which cured the defects of all the deaf, dumb, dwarfs, lepers, and hunchbacks who bathed in it. Sacred Trees[6] were also worshipped.

(2) *The hunters* and hill tribes worshipped the heroic war-god Muruga with 12 arms and six faces at shrines on the top of hills and mountains and dense forests. He had a Vel (Lance)—used as weapon. His priest carried the lance and was known as Velan—a lancer. The dance in honour of this god was குன்றக்குரவை. His features and exploits are vividly described in Tiru Muruharruppadai and Skanda Purana (Sanskrit) and in Tamil Kandapuranam.

(3) *The shepherd classes* (ஆயர்—பொதுவர். இடையர்—முல்லைநிலமக்கள்) worshipped their national hero, Mayon—Tirumal (மாயோன்—திருமால்) the black coloured god and his avatar Krishna and his elder borther Balarama.

(4) *The Barathavar or fisher folk* whose region is Neithal worshipped, according to Tolkappiyam, Varunan (வருணன்) They planted the vertibral bone—back bone—of the whale சுறுமீன் and established வருணன் (ஆவாகனம்) in it and worshipped him (பட்டினப்பாலை—சினைச்சுறவின் கோடுநட்டு—86-87).

5. Silappadikaram, XX—37-40 and XXIII—113-125.
6. நற்றிணை,—கடவுள் ஆலம் 343—கடவுள் மரத்த—அகம் 2701
புறம் 199—கடவுள் ஆலம்.

There was also the practice of erecting tomb-stones (நடுகல்) over the buried body of warriors, slain in battlefield, and worshipping them, decorating them with peacock feathers and offering toddy[7] and other edibles.

Such were some of the religious practices obtaining in the days of the 3rd Sangam. The other favourite gods mentioned were Brahma and Siva. The term கந்துடைப்பொதியில் in பட்டினப்பாலை[8] may be taken to mean Linga worship. Siva is mentioned in many places in Puram. Avvai[9] blessed Adikaman wishing him long life even as "நீலமணி மிடற்றொருவன்போல்". பரிபாடல் calls him "கறைமிடற்றண்ணல்" and "பைங்கட் பார்ப்பான்". மலைபடுகடாம் calls him (83)—"காரியுண்டிக் கடவுள்".—ஆலமர் கடவுள் also is Siva. Silappadikaram calls him பிறவாயாக்கைப்பெரியோன்[10] and refers to him again in கால்கோட்காதை.[11]

Tirumal was another favourite God in Sangam days. Mention is made of பூவைநிலை in which Kings are compared to him—in Tolkappiyam. He is described as 'ஆடகமாடத் தறிதுயிலமர்வோன்'. The Tirumal in Tiruvarangam and

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7. ஆடவர் பெயரும் பீடும் எழுதி அதர் தொறும்

(அ) பீலி சூட்டிய பிறங்குநிலை நடுகல்—அகம் 131.

(ஆ) கல்லே பரவி னல்லது கடவுளும்
நெல்லுகுத்து பரவலும் இலவே.—புறம் 335.

இரும்பறை இலவல சேறியாயின்
தொழாதனை கழிதல் ஓம்புமதி—புறம் 262.

(Don't avoid worshipping the tomb-stone)
அந்நடுகல்லை வணங்கினால் கொடுங்கானம்
மழை பெய்தலால் குளிரும்.

8. பட்டினப்பாலை—249.

9. புறம்—55 & 56.

10. இந்திரவிழா வூரெடுத்த காதை.

11. கால்கோள்—(அ) தெண்ணீர்க்கந்த செஞ்சடைக்
கடவுள் வண்ணச் சேவடி.

(ஆ) நிலவுக் கதிர் முடித்த
நீளிருஞ்சென்னி
உலகு பொதி உருவத்
துயர்ந்தோன் சேவடி 54—55.

Tiruvenkatam are reverentially mentioned by Madala Marai- yon in Silappadikaram காடுகாண்காதை.[12]

From the foregoing picture it will be seen that there has been even in the days of Tolkappiyam and subsequently in the days of the last Sangam in the early centuries of the Xian era an admixture of the worship of the gods of the Vedic Pantheon of the Aryans, who slowly spread to the south of the Vindhiyas, and the local Dravidian Tamil gods and goddesses and religious beliefs and ceremonies. Sans- krit priests and scholars were patronised by Tamil Kings. They settled them in flourishing villages given to them as grants without revenue cess—usually called முற்றூட்டு, இறையிலி etc. These villages were later called சதுர்வேதி மங்கலம். Some Scholars became ministers of Kings or their personal friends and advisers. They were put in charge of temple worship and Pujas. Typical examples of this may be found in Madala Maraiyon[13] advising *Cheran Senguttuvan on*

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12. காடுகாண் காதை :—

நீலமேக நெடும் பொற் குன்றத்துப்
பால்விரிந்தகலாது படிந்தது போல
ஆயிரம் விரித்தெழு தலையுடையருந்திற்ற
பாயற் பள்ளி பலர் தொழுதேத்த
விரிதிரை காவிரி வியன்பெருந் துருத்தித்
திருவமர் மார்பன் கடந்த வண்ணமும் (35–40)

வீங்கு நீரருவி வேங்கடமென்னும்
ஓங்குயர் மலையத் துச்சி மீமிசை
விரிகதிர் ஞாயிறும் திங்களும் விளங்கி
இருமருங் கோங்கிய இடை நிலைத்தானத்து
மின்னுக் கோடியுடுத்து விளங்குவிற் பூண்டு
நன்னிற மேக நின்றது போலப்
பகையணங் காழியும் பால்வெண் சங்கமும்
தகைபெறு தாமரைக் கையின் ஏந்தி
நலங்கிளர் ஆர மார்பிற் பூண்டு
பொலம் பூவாடையிற் பொலிந்து தோன்றிய
செங்கண் நெடியோன் நின்ற வண்ணமும். (41-51)

13. (அ) 125–133 மண்ணாள் வேந்தே நின் வாணாட்கள்
தண்ணாள் பொருநை மணலினுஞ் சிறக்க
அகழ்கடல் ஞாலம் ஆள்வோய் வாழி
இகழா தென்சொற் கேட்டல் வேண்டும்
வையங் காவல் பூண்டநின் நல்யாண்டு
ஐயைந் திரட்டி சென்றதற் பின்னும்
அறக்கள வேள்வி செய்யா தியாங்கணும்
மறக்கள வேள்வி செய்வோ யாயினை

heavenly matters as a friend, philosopher and guide. *Kapilar similarly advised King Pari Vallal.*

These priests and ministers advised Tamil Kings to perform the various Vedic sacrifices thus attempting a fusion of the Vedic rites and religion and those prevailing in the Tamilakam of those days. Sacrifices like Aswameda, Raja Suya etc., were performed by the Tamil Kings on the advice of these priests. We hear of the Chola who performed the Raja Suya sacrifice called (Raja Suyam Vitta Perunurkilli). The Pandiyan King who performed a number of Vedic sacrifices was called Palyahasalai Mudu Kudumi Peru Vazhudhi. The Chola King Kulamurrathu Thunjiya Killai Valavan is said to be the lord of the land, where brahmins perform sacrifices. In his land sacrificial fires existed in plenty.

The Tamilians were also acquainted with the Vedic religion and religious rites.[14] Purananuru speaks of the four Vedas, the paths or Dharmas shown by four Vedas, the sacrificial fire of the twice-born brahmins etc.

Pattinappalai speaks of அவிர்சடை அந்தணர் அங்கி வேட்கும் ஆவுதி நறும்புகை, Kurinjippattu (225) of அந்தி அந்தணர் அயர, and Maduraikanji (656) of ஆதல் அந்தணர் வேதம்பாட. They speak of brahmins, Vedic rites etc. The brahmins were held in high esteem by the people and the kings of the land. They became temple priests. The eight kinds of Aryan marriages (பிரமம், பிரசாபத்தியம்,

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(ஆ) *176–178 நான்மறை மருங்கின் வேள்விப் பார்ப்பான்*
அருமறை மருங்கின் அரசர்க் கோங்கிய
பெருநல் வேள்வி நீசெயல் வேண்டும்.

(இ) *190–194 நான்மறை மரபின் நயந்தெரி நாவின்*
கேள்வி முடித்த வேள்வி மாக்களை
மாடல மறையோன் சொல்லிய முறையின்
வேள்விச் சாந்தியின் விழாக்கொள ஏவி.

14. (அ) புறம் 2. நால்வேத நெறி திரியினும்
(ஆ) ,, 93. அறம்புரி கொள்கை நான்மறை முதல்வர்
(இ) ,, 361. கேள்வி முற்றிய வேள்வி அந்தணர்
(ஈ) ,, 367. ஒன்றுபுரிந்தடங்கிய இருபிறப்பாளர்
(உ) ,, 368. அவிர்சடை அந்தணர்.

ஆரிடம், தெய்வம், கந்தர்வம், ஆசுரம், ராக்ஷஸம், பைசாசம்) also were equated with Tamil marriage systems by Tolkappiar and his commentators.

In Irayanar Kalaviyal, Kalavu was equated with Gandharvam and Kaikilai and Perunthinai with the other seven Aryan marriages. Even gods and goddesses of the Vedic Pantheon came to be identified with Tamil gods and goddesses. Siva who was worshipped as Lingam here was equated with Rudra of the Vedas and the attributes of Rudra like his destroying aspect, his abode of the cremation ground, his smearing of the ashes of the mayana, his dance there, his garland of skulls etc., were all attributed to Siva also. The Tamil goddess Korravai of the Pālai residents, Eyinar, was made the Vedic goddess of Durga and wife of Siva. Muruka the Tamil god of the hill tracts was identified with Karthikeya, fostered by the six Kartikai constellations and made Shanmuga, Skanda or Subramanya. Deivayanai daughter of Indra was made his wife. The Thirumal or Mayon of the forest region of Tamilakam became, Vishnu. Varuna of Neithal region became Varuna of the Vedic religion. Vendan of the agricultural region was equated with Indra. Sanskrit came to be called "Deva Basha", the language of the gods.

Tēvāram, Tiruvāchakam, Tiruvisaippā, Tiruppallāndu, Tirumantiram, Patinoram Tirumarai and Nālāyiram belong to the age of the Pallavas. The period roughly 600–900 A.D. may be described as the age of the religious revival and the age of devotional literature. After the Sangam age, there came a period of darkness for about 3 centuries due to the Kalabra Interregnum. The Buddhist and Jain religions which were till then peaceful and loving neighbour, began to predominate and expand very much at the expense of the native Saiva and Vaishnava faiths during the Pallava age. They spread rapidly in the south, with settlements in Kanchi, Kongunadu and Madurai. Both the Buddhists and Jains were great Sanskrit scholars and while they learned also the language of the soil, Tamil, became scholars in it and wrote works in it, they did not merely import Buddhist and Jain ideas and ideologies and doctrines

into Tamil Literature, but were also responsible for a large influx of Sanskrit and Pali words, idioms and phrases into the Tamil language.

They gradually exercised potential influence on the Kings and chieftains as well. In the hey-day of the Pallava rule from the beginning of the 7th century A.D. their influence was at its zenith. King Mahendravarman (600 A.D.-630) became himself a Jain, and encouraged Jainism very much. If the story of his persecution[15] of Thirunavukkarasar who reverted to Saivism from Jainism,[16] to which he had been attracted in his early life is correct, then we may safely conclude that there would have been frequent conversions of Saivas and Vaishnavas to the Buddhist and Jain faiths and vice versa. It is strange that this King who persecuted Appar, was himself converted, in turn, to Saivism by the same Appar himself. The devotees of Siva and Vishnu looked at these religious conversions with consternation and horror and wanted to check the spread of these faiths before it was too late and revive their faiths. It was first at this time that the Saivite and Vaishnavite saints—Nayanmars and Alvars came on the scene and popularised their faiths. Travelling from one place to another place of pilgrimage with their followers and devotees, singing the praise of their lords, Siva and Vishnu, later collected and codified as Tevara Tirumuraikal (1-7) and Nalayira Divya Prabandam, those Saivite

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15. திருநாவுக்கரசர் தேவாரம்—(1) நமச்சிவாயத்திருப்பதிகம்—1.
,, ,, (2) திருநளிபள்ளித் திருப்பதிகம்—5. வரி 3-4.
,, ,, (3) திருநீலக்குடி பதிகம்—7.

16. திருநாவுக்கரசர் தேவாரம் (1) திருவாரூர் பழமொழிப் பத்து—10 கரும்பு & இரும்பு.

The term கரும்பு இருக்க இரும்பு கடித்து is taken to denote a pathetic reference to his leaving his original faith of Saivism (கரும்பு - Sugarcane) and adopting the foreign faith Jainism (இரும்பு - Iron). In fact the terms—இன்காய் in verse (1) அறம் & மறம் (3) விளக்கு & மின்மினி in (7) தவம் & அவம் (9) are taken to refer to these faiths respectively.

(2) திருச்செங்காட்டங்குடி—4 வரிகள் 3-4.

(3) திருவையாறு குண்டனும் சமணரோடு—6, 7, 54, 32 & 8.

(4) திருப்புகலூர் திருநேரிசை—4.

and Vaishnavite Acharyas spread the message of Mukti through Bakti Cult. These works and the other Saivite devotional literature like Tiruvisaippa etc., and Tiruppallandu of the Pallavar and Chola period roughly from 600 to 1000 A.D. constituted the religious revival. From a reading of these canons we can envisage the religious beliefs, practices, the various mythological and puranic stories and feats of these gods, the mode of worship, the religious doctrines and philosophical ideas of these religious doctrines etc. We can also see that it was a continuous *fight and enmity*[17] * between the Saivites and the Vaishnavites, between the Saivites and Buddhists and Jains and between the Vaishnavites and Buddhists and Jains.

The hymns of some of these Nayanmars and Alwars refer specifically to some Kings or personalities or political incidents which go a long way in fixing the ages in which they lived.[18] The Tevaram hymns sung by the three saints Appar (also called) Tirunavukkarasar, Tirugnanasambandar and Sundaramurti of this period collected and codified by Nambiyandar Nambi in the later half of the 10th century into the first Seven Saivite Tirumurais or sacred books—Sambandar 1-3, Appar 4-6 and Sundarar 7 are the devotional and melodious hymns singing the praise of Lord Siva, his omnipotence, omnipresence, his eternal nature beyond the limits of time and space and other godly attributes in sweet, elegant, chaste, and dignified metre set to music (Pan). Unlike other works,

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17.* (அ) திருமழிசை ஆழ்வார்—(1) நான்முகன் திருவந்தாதி— 6
(2) ,, ,, 14
(3) ,, ,, 26
(4) ,, ,, 84
(5) சந்த விருத்தம் 66
(ஆ) திருநாவுக்கரசர்—(See 23 of 79th verses in each of his Padikams) Vishnu.
(இ) திருஞானசம்பந்தர்—9th verse of all padikams.

18. (1) Tirunavukkarasar—King Mahendravarman.
(2) Tirugnana Sambandar—Arikesari.
(3) Sundarar—Kodavarkan Kalar Singan.
(4) Manickavasagar—Kingvaragema.
(5) Nammalvar—Parantaka Netunjadayan.
(6) Tirumangai Alvar—Nandivarman and Vairamegan.

written after much labour and deliberation these are spontaneous outbursts (அருட்பாடல், அருளிச்செயல்) of the religious zeal and faith in and love for god of these three saints. These were sung generally on Lord Siva of the various temples situated in the sacred places of pilgrimage in the length and breadth of Tamilakam, and even beyond in Ceylon, Andhrapradesh, Kerala and Kailas, most of which they visited and some others away from Tamilakam not in person but mentally. These songs were generally in the form of tens or pathikams. Though those of Sundarar and Sambandar contained eleven songs, in the eleventh song their practice was to record their names as the authors thereof (திருக்கடைக் காப்பு). These Tevaram songs similar to the other Tirumurais like திருவாசகம், திருமந்திரம், திரு விசைப்பா etc., are the manifestations of the popular Bakti cult in Saivism in the South. It is said that not merely from the point of melody, set to music or Pan, rhythm and sweetness but also from the point of view of emotional expression, religious fervour and literary excellence, these hymns stand out supreme. They held Siva as the lord of the Universe, the doer of ஐந்தொழில்—Pancha Krtya—creation ஆக்கல் preservation அளித்தல், Destruction அழித்தல், Grace அருளல், Concealment மறைத்தல் as works of the cosmic dancer and in the other forms of Siva as Dakshinamurthy, Kalyanasundarar, Bikshadanamurthy, Chandrasekarar, Somaskandar, Ardhnaresvarar etc. The worship in the temples, the festivals that are celebrated therein, the particular miracles done in particular temples described in the Sthala puranas are all echoed in these hymns. So much so that from these one can have an idea and a picture of the religious concepts of those days relating to Saivism. The great Siva shrines are the outward expressions of the religion of aesthetics. They are not merely a Sermon in stones but the whole of Tamil culture and philosophy are set forth in eloquent stones there. They were raised by the devout Chola Emperor who endowed them with much property and encouraged the study of arts and philosophy in them. The Tantra school is not limited to any one place in India but the Agamas are peculiarly

South Indian. Many of them refer to Kanchi and Tiruvalankādu and as such, one may not be wrong in concluding that they were compiled in Southern country for the regulation of the worship in Siva temples. Srikanta and Haradatta wrote commentaries on the Brahma Sutra expounding the Saivite Philosophy as the true import of *Badarayana's* work. Appaya Dikshitar the mediaeval scholar has written a commentary (Sivarka Mani Dipika) on the Brahma Sutra Bashya of Sankara. Various Sivacharyas wrote commentaries on the Agamas. The great Umapathi Sivam wrote the commentary on the Paushkaragama. Along with the Sivacharyas who flourished in the Pallava period, the Vaishnavite saints also flourished. The worship of Vishnu is claimed to be as old as Tholkappiyam and the Vedas and passed through the Vedic and the Puranic stages. The epics of Ramayana and Maha Bharata and puranas like the Vishnu and Bhagavata describing the miracles and wonderful feats of the various incarnations of Vishnu, served as the fountains of inspiration for the Alvars or men of great Bakthi and deep wisdom. The hymns sung by them like their counterparts, the Nayanmars, were collected and ordered to be codified in one volume, 'The Nālayira Divya Prabandam'. Nathamuni was a contemporary of Nambiandar Nambi and what Nambi did for Saivism, Nathamuni did for Vaishnavism. The Alvars are twelve in number. Though there were only 10 at first, Andal and Mathurakavi were also included in the list of Alvars. Their lives are recorded traditionally in Guruparambarai, or the genealogy of Gurus and in Alvar Vaipavam or the chronicle of the Alvars. The Vaishnavite revivalism was inaugurated in all parts of Tamilakam—Periyalvar (1), Andal (2), Nammalvar (3) and Madurakavi (4) in the Pandya country, Mutal Alvar or Poykai Alvar (5), Putattalvar (6) and Periyalvar (7) and Tirumalisai Alvar (8) in the Tondainadu or Pallava country, Tirupanalvar (9) Tondār Adippodi (10) and Tirumangai (11) Alvars in the Chola country and Kulasekarar (12) in the Chera country. Of the 4000 and odd hymns Nammalvar (திருவாய்மொழி—4th thousand—1002 and) Tirumangai (Alvar—

2nd thousand—1134) alone contributed more than half. Like the Tevaram and Tiruvisaippa authors these alvars also travelled to Vaishnavite places of pilgrimage and sang spontaneously on the temples and Lord Vishnu of the temples they visited. From these also, we can have an idea of the religious concepts of the times relating to Vaishnavism. These are manifestations of the Bakti cult in Vaishnavism in the South. Not merely in point of melody set to music, rhythm and sweetness but also from the point of view of emotional expression, religious beliefs, literary flavour and excellence, these hymns like the Tirumurais stand out supreme. They hold out Vishnu as the Lord of the Universe, the creator, sustainer and destroyer and give the other forms of Vishnu like, Krishna, Balarama, Rama, Narasimha, Ananta Sayanam etc. The worship in the temples, the festivals that are celebrated therein and the miracles that occurred in them are all echoed in these hymns, so that we can clearly have a picture of the religious concepts of the times pertaining to Vaishnavism. Nammalvar refers to the other conflicting religious[19] orders. The Agamas relating to temple worship and regulations were written. These hymns formed the basis for the philosophy of Visishtadvaita of Ramanuja, who in the place of Nirguna (attributeless) Brahman, postulated by Sankara, evolved a god of beauteous form and figure full of all auspicious and good qualities (Kalyana gunas).

Vaishnavite philosophy developed in Tamil land from the times of the hymns of these Alvars, continued to flourish for many centuries. Without a knowledge of Tamil it is not possible to be a thorough master of this philosophy and thus arose the term of 'Ubhya Vedanta'. The tradition continues as a live stream from generation to generation, from Nammalvar, Madurakavi, Nathamuni, Alavandar, Tirukkottiyur Nambi, Ramanuja, Kurathalvar, Bhattar, Nandiyar, Nampillai, Pillai Lokacharyar and Alakiya

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19. இலிங்கத்திட்ட புராணத்தீரும் சமணரும் சாக்கியரும்
(திருவாய்மொழி 4—பதிகம் 10—பாடல் 5).

Maravala Nayanar to Manavala Mamunikal and *his disciples of Tenkalai School.* So does it continuously run through Vedanta Desika and others of the Vadakalai School. These works have been written both in Tamil and in Sanskrit.

The great Ramanuja known as the Tiruppavai Jeeyar planned to write a commentary on Nammalvar as one of his life's mission, but finding himself occupied with his philosophical and other religious engagements, could not fulfil this sacred duty.

Nampillai's Ita commentary on Nammalvar is unique. It has been rendered in Tamil in ten volumes, by B. R. Purushothama Naidu of Madras University. Acharya Hirudaya by Alakiya Manavala Nayanar is a masterly survey of the philosophy of Nammalvar's poems ranking higher than the Upanishads. This is also now being rendered in Tamil by the same scholar. Vedanta Desikan apart from innumerable Sanskrit works of his, had written in Tamil on the Esoteric doctrines of Vaishnava who tries to establish a '*Tontakkulam' or a democracy of Vaishnavite service. A Kingdom of God on earth, recognising no caste as between the worshippers of God.* Ramananda and other Vaishnavite saints of north India are the followers of Ramanuja. Vaishnavites transliterate the Tamil songs of the Alvars in their respective mother-tongues and devotionally recite them every day in Malayalam, Telugu, Kannada and throughout India.

During the closing years of the Imperial Chola rule, Saiva Siddhanta Philosophy came to be written in Tamil. *Sivagnana Bodham*[20] though alleged to be a translation, is really an original contribution of Meykanda Sivam of Tiruvennainallur of the *13th century.* It is the most authoritative and greatest of all the Saivite philosophical works. It is the first attempt at a systematic and codified account of the tenets of Tamil Saivism consisting of 12 aphorisms (Narpas or Sutras). The Saiva Siddhanta Philosophy "is the choicest product of the Dravidian intellect,

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20. 14 சாத்திரங்கள்.

and the most elaborate, influential and undoubtedly the most intrinsically valuable of all religious philosophy in India", according to Dr. Pope. The Rev. Goudi is of opinion that 'the system possesses the merit of great antiquity' and that "in the religious world the Saiva system is the heir to all that is most ancient in South India". It is the religion of the Tamil people, by the side of which every other form is comparatively of foreign and recent origin. As a system of religious thought, as an expression of faith and life, the Saiva system is by far the best that South India possesses". Equally appreciative is the opinion of Prof. MaxMuller who wrote, "in the South of India there exists a philosophic literature which, though it shows clear traces of Sanskrit influence containing also original indigenous elements of great beauty and of importance for historical purposes".

The religious revival of the four great Saiva Acharyas gave an impetus to the composition of the 14 Saiva Siddhanta Sastras containing the tenets of the Saiva Siddhanta Philosophy culled out from the Saivite devotional Literature that went before. Sivagnana Bodham bears that name rightly because it deals in a nut-shell with the philosophy that 'Sivam is one, gnanam is knowledge of its true nature, and Bodham is the realisation of that nature". Its leading thought is therefore that the highest love, Para Bakthi is based on the soul's recognition of non-duality and of its debt to the lord and that the lord standing non-dual with the soul enables it not only to know external objects but also to know Him and Self. That there are Sanskrit influences in the Bodham itself, is borne out by an old stanza whose idea runs in English thus, "The Veda is the cow, its milk is the true Agama, the Tamil sung by the four is the ghee extracted from it and the virtue of the Tamil work of the Meykandar of the celebrated city Vennai is the fine taste of the ghee". It clearly proves the trend of the Sanskrit and Tamil thought of the times influencing each other and the key position held by this work in the Literature of Tamil Saivism. The author has added Vartikas of his own, explaining and illustrating the argument of each of the Sutrams

and giving its meanings. The famous logician and philosopher poet, Sivagnana Munivar of Tiruvavaduturai Adhinam of 18th century A.D. wrote elaborate commentary on it, hailed as the 'Dravida Maha Bashyam' and the author is rightly hailed as the "Dravida Maha Bashya Kartar".

The Bodham was preceded by two short works *Tiruvuntiyar* (2) and *Tirukakalirrupadiyar* (3) by two authors—teacher and disciple. Both go by the same name though distinguished by the place to which they belonged. Tiruvundiyar was written by Uyyavanda Deva Nayanar of Tiruvialur while Tirukalliruppadiyar was written by Uyyavanda Deva Nayanar of Tirukkadavur.

After Sivagnana Bodham the next work of Importance in the hierarchy of Saiva Siddhanta works is the *Sivagnana Sittiyar* (4) of Arulnandi Sivacharyar, a disciple of Meykandar. It is a comprehensive statement of the doctrine Suppakkam preceded by a discussion of the rival systems (Para pakkam) of which no fewer than 41 including 4 schools of Buddhism and 2 of Jainism are passed under reference. Since Meykandar's work, though most authoritative, is too cryptic and does not explain the position of Saivism vis-a-vis other systems, Sivagnana Sittiyar is read very widely and has formed the subject of many commentaries.

Irupa Irupahtu (5) owes its 20 verses in alternate use of 2 metres namely venba metre and asiriya metre in the form of a dialogue between the teacher Meikandar and disciple Arulnandhi. *Unmai Vilakkam* (6) of Manavasakam Kadandar is the simplest of Siddhanta works.

Umapathi Sivachariyar of Korravankudi near Chidambaram who lived at the close of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century A.D. wrote the all remaining 8 works completing the total of 14 Siddhanta Sastras. They are (*1*) *Sivapragasam,* (*2*) *Tiruvarutpayan,* (*3*) *Vināvenba,* (*4*) *Porrippahrodai,* (*5*) *Kodikavi 11,* (*6*) *Nenju Vidu Thūthu 12,* (*7*) *Unmai Neri Vilakkam and* (*8*) *Sangarpa-nirākaranam.*

The Advaita philosophy of Sankara in Tamil Vedantic School became popular from the 8th century onwards. Apart from the translations of the Geetha, and ஞானவாசிட்டம் and other works, there sprang up original works in Tamil like கைவல்ய நவநீதம், works of சொருபனர்—தத்துவராயர் and குமாரதேவர் which are of great literary merit.

Thus even a casual survey of the literary works of the 3rd Sangam age and the age of Religious revival (600 to 900 A.D.) will reveal ample literary evidence for a proper understanding and estimate of the religious concepts of the times and further details regarding the same. This will be useful for a comparative study of religions of the age in other parts of the world leading to religious integration of the world community. It sheds welcome light on the following facts :—

(1) The works of the Sangam age were collected and codified as Pattupattu, Ettuttohai and Patinenkil Kanakku and the twin epics of Silappadikaram and Manimekalai followed them. The eleven Saiva Tirumurais and Nalayira Divya Prabandam followed them in the Age of the Pallavas which was an age of religious revival in Tamilakam.

(2) The religious faiths in Sangam age—Saivism, Vaishnavism, Jainism and Buddhism flourished side by side with toleration and human understanding, following and preaching the doctrines of their respective faith without animosity.

(3) There was enmity between these faiths in the Age of the Pallavas.

(4) There was realisation of God and religious concepts of the Almighty transcendental and at the same time imminent god and his various forms like Siva, Vishnu, Muruga, Korravai, Vendan (Indira), Krishna, Bala Rama, Varuna etc.—on a regional basis like Kurinji, Mullai, Marutham, Palai and Neital, even from the days of Tolkappiyam followed in Sangam works—and in later devotional literature.

(5) The later devotional literature on Siva and Vishnu along with the devotional portion of Sangam works, spread the message of Mukti through Bakti and devotional songs of a soul-stirring and heart-touching nature set to music and melody. These formed the Tottira Literature out of which the Saiva Siddhanta and Visishtadvaita of the Saivites and Vaishnavites developed later, expounded by Meikandar and Ramanujar.

(6) These texts reveal the various forms of icons, modes of worship, festivals and religious practices etc., of the times.

Auxiliary Verbs in Tamil

S. A. PILLAI

0·0. Every language is changing. Tamil is not an exception to this universal truth and this can best be seen when one looks into the history of Tamil language from the Sangam period to the middle and from the middle to the modern. Changes can be noticed in vocabulary, meaning, phonology and grammar, morphology and syntax.

0·1. The verbal system of Modern Tamil differs considerably from that of old and middle. In addition to many innovations like potential mood in expressions like *ceyyalaam* meaning "he she/it/they/they (neuter) may do" and permissive in *varaṭṭum* meaning "let him/her/it/they/they (neuter) come," etc., we find developments of new morphs which either replace the old ones or occur simultaneously with them as allomorphs. Forms like *ukaḷuntu*[1] meaning "it will jump," *avaii*[2] meaning "having stayed," *kaaṅku*[3] "I will see," *kaaṇṭum*[4] "we will see," and many others are obsolete now.

0·2. One can notice a very common tendency to replace some old verbs with certain nouns and appropriate verbs. Examples like

pakirntanar	→	paṅku ^	{ iṭṭanar / vaittanar }	(V → N^V)
porutanar	→	poor ^	{ iṭṭanar / ceytanar }	(V → N^V)

meaning "they divided (something)," "they fought," respectively, are not quite uncommon in modern Tamil. Verbs such as *kaiviṭu* "leave," (*kai^viṭu*, N^V), eḻuntiru "stand, get up" (*eḻuntu^iru*, V^V), *meelpaar* "supervise" (*meel^paar*, clitic^V) are not too rare to be unnoticed. These phenomena need a careful and scientific analysis the result of which will give a clear picture of the structure of compound verbs in Tamil.

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1. Puṟam 339.5
2. Puṟam 67.9, 141.3
3. Patiṟṟuppattu 16.9
4. Puṟam 173.9

1·1. Another striking change can also be noticed within the verb sequence itself. Many auxiliary verbs have been creeping into the verb sequence developing subtle nuances of meaning. The insertion of auxiliaries in the verb sequences gave rise to many moods and tenses (aspects). "The diverse languages have enriched it to some extent by various combinations introducing shades of aspect and tenses but generally without resulting in complete system," says Jules Bloch.[5] The purpose of the present paper is to describe some of the auxiliary verbs that are found within the verb sequence and to show the change that took place in the structure of the verb sequence.

1·2. Tamil positive verbs used to have only three tenses, the past, the present, and the future.[6]

vantaan	=	Came-he
varukiraan	=	Comes-he
varuvaan	=	Will come-he

1·3. The use of the verb *iru* meaning " sit, to be " as an auxiliary gave rise to more tenses: pluperfect, perfect, and future perfect and many moods. This auxiliary is added to the verbal participle of the main verb.

V_{vp}^ iru^

vantu^irunteen	=	I had come
vantu^irukkireen	=	I have come
vantu^iruppeen	=	I shall/would have come
vantu^irukka	=	to have come
vantu^iruntu	=	having had come
vantu^irunta	=	who (which or that) had come
vantu^irukkira	=	who (which or that) has come
vantu^irukkum	=	who (which or that) shall have come
vantu^irukkaveentum	=	he/she/it/they/they (neuter) must have come
vantu^irukkalaam	=	he/she/it/they/they (neuter) might have come

5. The Grammatical Structure of Dravidian Languages. Jules Bloch, Translation, by Ramakrishna Ganesh Harshe, Poona, 1954, p. 90.

6. Tolkaapiyam, col, 200. Nannuul, 324.

1 31. -iru- is added to the negative verbal participle of the main verb too. It occurs in the negative forms like:

varaamal varaatu	^iruntaal	= if he/she/it/they/they (neuter) does/do not come
varaamal varaatu	^irukka	= not to come
varaamal varaatu	^irukkalaam	= he/she/it/they/they (neuter) may not come.

1·32. The defective verb *-ul* meaning " is " also denotes perfect tense. It is added to a verbal participle.

vantu^uḷḷatu = it has come

2·1. In old Tamil there was nothing in the verb sequence to express continuity of action. *-iru* prefixed by *-koṇṭu-* (*koṇṭiru*), when added to the verbal participle of the principal verb denotes continuous action in modern Tamil.

V_{vp}^koṇṭu^iru

paṭittu^koṇṭiruntaan	=	was studying-he
paṭittu^koṇṭirukkiṟan	=	is studying-he
paṭittu^koṇṭiruppan	=	will be studying-he
paṭittu^koṇṭirukka	=	to study continuously
paṭittu^koṇṭiruntu	=	having studied continuously
paṭittu^koṇṭirunta	=	who was studying
etc.		

2·2. The auxiliary *-koḷ-* often gives a reflexive meaning when it is added to the verbal participle of the main verb. (V_{vp}^Koḷ^)

pukaḻntu^koṇṭaan	=	he praised himself
peeci^koṇṭaarkaḷ	=	they spoke among themselves

2·3. *-koṇṭee* after a verbal participle denotes simultaneous action when it is followed by another verb.

V_{vp}^koṇṭee + V

paṭittu^koṇṭee + caappiṭṭeen = I ate while studying

One can very well notice the contrast between *paṭittukkoṇṭee vanteen* and *paṭittukkoṇṭu vanteen* which means either " having studied I came," or " after having studied, I came."

3·1. The verb *viṭu* "leave, let, forsake, etc.," is very often used as an auxiliary too. When it is added to the verbal participle (V_{vp}^viṭu^) it denotes certainty.

kaṇṭu^viṭṭaan	=	he has seen certainly in contrast with
kaṇṭaan	=	he saw
kaṇṭiruntaan	=	he has seen
kaṇṭu^viṭukiraan	=	he certainly sees
kaṇṭu^viṭuvaan	=	he will certainly see

3·12. *-viṭu* is used in the negative conditional too.

kaaṇaa^viṭṭaal = if (one) does not see

-viṭṭaal, here is used simply as a conditional marker. The verbal participle of this composite verb is used in the sense of "after."

kaṇṭuviṭṭu = after having seen

4·1. *pooṭu* meaning "put," used as an auxiliary, expresses certainty when added to the verbal participle. Though some scholars seem to think *-viṭu* and *-pooṭu* are somewhat in free variation, it appears that -pooṭu always occurs only with transitive verbs, e.g.

aṭittu^pooṭṭan = he has beaten

4·12. Like *-viṭṭu* in *aṭitu^viṭṭu* it also means "after"

aṭittu^pooṭṭu = after having beaten

5·1. The auxiliary verb *-poo-* :

(1) When it is added to the verbal participle it denotes both certainty and completeness, e.g.

cettu^poonaan	=	he died
uṭaintu^pooyiṟṟu	=	it was broken

In the positive it always occurs with intransitives. In the negatives it occurs with transitive too.

ceyyaamal^poonan = he didn't do

(2) When it is added to the infinitive of the principal verb, it (V_{inf}^poo) gives the meaning "about"

ceyya^poonaan = he was about to do

6·1. The verb *aaku*, which means " become," when added to the verbal participle, denotes completion of action of the main verb. e.g.

vantaayirru = he/she/it/they/they (neut.) has/have come.

7·1. *vaa* meaning " come " is also used as an auxiliary. Like the majority of the auxiliaries it is also added to the verbal participle and it denotes habitual continuation. e.g.

vaalntu^vantaan	=	he had been living
vaalntu^varukiran	=	he has been living
vaalntu^varuvan	=	he will be living

8·1. The verb *arul* (grant, vouchsafe) also is used, as an auxiliary and when added to a verbal participle (V_{vp}^arul) it denotes that the action of the verb is done by a very reverential and respectful person.

vantu^arulinaar = he came

9·1. *vai* meaning " place " denotes the causal, when it is preceded by the infinitive of the main verb. (V_{inf}^vai)

ceyya^vaittaan = he made (someone) do

10·1. *paar* meaning " see " is used as an auxiliary too. When it occurs after verbal participle and infinitive of the main verb it means " try " or " attempt." e.g.

ceytu^paarttaan	=	he had tried to do
ceyya^paartaan	=	he had tried to do

it can also mean " he would have done."

ceytu^paar	=	try to do
ceyya^paar	=	try to do

11·1. The verb *maattu** meaning " lock," " fasten," etc., is used as an auxiliary to denote the negative in the future. *maatteen* (maatt e e n) " I (will) not fasten," *maattoom* (maatt o o m) " we (will) not fasten," *maattiir* (maatt i i r) " you (her) (will) not fasten," *maattaay* (maatt a a y) " you

* The auxiliary verb *maatu* does not here mean " lock," " fasten," etc. as the learned author thinks. Nor does it denote the negative in the future, as he has stated. It is a verb meaning 'to do' (still used in Kannada) and the negation is denoted by the marker -aa, or -ee or -oo, as in the case of the verbal forms vaaraan, ceyyeen, unnoom, etc.

(sing.) will not fasten," etc., are inferred to have functioned as the negative forms of the verb *maaṭṭu* itself. (compare with *aaṭeen* "I (will) not dance," *aaṭoom* "we (will) not dance," etc.) In due course *maaṭṭu* became an auxiliary preceded by the infinitive of the main verb (V_{inf}^maaṭṭu) to denote negation. e.g.

vara^maaṭṭeen	=	I will not come
varamaaṭṭoom	=	we will not come
vantirukka^maaṭṭeen	=	I would have not come
varamaaṭṭaamal	=	without coming

12·1. The verb *paṭu* which means "experience," "suffer" functions as an auxiliary too when it occurs after the infinitive form of a verb (V_{inf} paṭu), and it denotes the passive. It should be mentioned that the main verb should always be a transitive. e.g.

kolla^paṭṭaan = he was killed

What has been said about *paṭu* holds good for the verb *peṛu* "receive" too.

kolla^peṟṟaan = he was killed

12·2. Many scholars maintain the view that the verb *uṇ* meaning "eat" also functions as an auxiliary to express the passive. The example which they show is

kolai^uṇṭaan = he was killed

It seems to me that the above expression is active rather than passive. *kolai* meaning "murder" (a verbal noun) can be treated as the accusative case base and *uṇ* as a regular verb. *kolai uṇṭaan* literally means "he ate murder," i.e., "he was killed." The structure and the function of this expression is exactly like those of many other expressions like

aṭi^koṇṭan = he received the blow

etc.[7]

12·3. I should perfectly agree with P. S. Subramanya Sastri[8] that "on the whole the genius of the Tamil language is to avoid the passive voice as far as possible." Unlike my

7. This was suggested by A. Kaamaaṭci in a paper on passive read in the Linguistic Club meeting at Trivandrum.

8. P. S. Subramanya Sastri, *History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil*, Madras, (1934) p. 177.

literary dialect there is no passive in my colloquial dialect. As it has been already noticed by Dr. Caldwell[9] and endorsed by P. S. Subramanya Sastri *paṭu* in words like *caappiṭṭa^ paaṭṭavan* which is equivalent to *caappiṭupavan* "one who eats or is accustomed to eat," denotes habitual continuity.

12·4. Some active expressions are mistakenly translated as passive by many of us, and therefore we conclude that Tamil active expressions denote the passive as well. For example, take a very common phrase:

paṭitta (1) paaṭam (2).

It is often translated as "the lesson which was read."

Let us reconstruct the kernal sentence from which paṭitta paaṭam is derived,

kaṇṇan (1) paaṭattai (2) paṭittaan (3)
Kaṇṇan (1) read (3) the lesson (2)

From this sentence we can derive two noun phrases; the head of one is *kaṇṇan* and that of the other is *paaṭam*.

1. paaṭattai (1) paṭitta (2) kaṇṇan (3)
   kaṇṇan (3) who read (2) the lesson (1)

2*a*. kaṇṇan (1) paṭitta (2) paaṭam (3)
   the lesson (3) that kaṇṇan read (1, 2)

2*b*. kaṇṇanaal (1) paṭikkappaṭṭa (2) paaṭam (3)
   the lesson (3) which was read (2) by Kaṇṇan (1)

12·5. We are concerned with 2*a* and 2*b*. Though they express the same idea, they are grammatically different. 2*a*. is an active form whereas 2*b*. is passive. Therefore whether the subject is explicit or implied (in 2*a*. kaṇṇan is the subject) it should always be translated (at least when we deal with grammatical functions and notions) as "the lesson that Kaṇṇan read" (whenever the subject is explicit) or "the lesson that (he/she/they) read." Translations into another language should not mislead grammarians in setting up grammatical categories and making grammatical categories and making grammatical statements. Every language has its own way of expressing ideas.

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9. Rev. Robert Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*, Madras, (Reprint) 1961, p 467.

13·1. The structure of Tamil verb sequence (without auxiliaries) is simple and less complex. Reduced to its essentials the finite verb will be one of the following forms (with personal endings).

$$V_{stem}\wedge\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Tense}\\ \text{Negative}\end{matrix}\right\}\wedge\text{Person}\wedge\text{Numb. Gend.}\quad\text{e.g.}$$

va^nt^aa^n came-he
var^a^a^tu will not come-it

14·1. The addition of auxiliaries, as discussed above, makes the sequence comparatively complex. Two or more verb stems are put together in the sequence to give the subtle nuances of meaning. Some of the sequences are given below.

1. $$V_s\wedge\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Tense}\\ \text{Negative}\end{matrix}\right\}\wedge\text{V.P.*}\wedge V_s\wedge\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Tense}\\ \text{Negative}\end{matrix}\right\}\wedge\text{Per}\wedge\text{Num. Gend.}$$

e.g. va^nt^u^iru^nt^aa^n = had come-he
var^aa^mal^iru^nt^aa^n = had not come-he
var^aa^mal^iru-kk^aa^tu = will not remain without coming-it

2. $V_s\wedge a\wedge V_s\wedge a\wedge V_s\wedge$Per^Numb. Gen.

koll^a^paṭ^a^maaṭṭ^aa^n = (he) will not be killed

3. $V_s\wedge$Tense^u^$V_s\wedge a\wedge V_s\wedge$Per Numb. Gend.

va^nt^u^iru-kk^a^maaṭṭ^aa^n = (he) would have not come

4. $V_s\wedge a\wedge V_s\wedge$Tense^u^$V_s\wedge a\wedge V_s\wedge$Per^Numb. Gend.

koll^a^paṭ^ṭ^u^irukk^a^maaṭ^aa^n = (he) would have not been killed

15·1. The intrusion of auxiliaries is not a recent development in Tamil. In the old Tamil too, we can find one or two instances. But in modern Tamil more and more auxiliaries develop and give various shades of meaning, and this phenomenon is not yet complete.

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* V.P. is verbal participle markers.

The Gloriosa Superba in Classical Poetry

DEVAPOOPATHY NADARAJAH

The *kāntaḷ* (the *Gloriosa Superba*) is a bulbous plant that flourishes in the rainy season. Since it generally blooms in November, the month of rain, it is called the " November blossom " (Kārtikaippū). The *Paripādal* refers to it as " the Gloriosa that is caused by the clouds ".[1] It has a slender stem which climbs by tendril-like prolongations of the narrow, generally lanceolate leaves. The flowers which are borne in the upper leaf-axils are very handsome with six thin, wavy and reflexed petals that stand upright. As a bud, the flower looks light green and then yellow. When newly in bloom the bottom half of the petals is yellow while the top half is red. As days pass by, the petals fall to a horizontal position and the colour changes to scarlet and then to deep scarlet. Due to this change of colour it is referred to as either the " white gloriosa " or the " red gloriosa ", as it fits the description. In Malaya, its lantern-like shape and flame-like colour has won for it the local name of ' Japanese Lantern '. Saṇkam poets, noticing this semblance in shape and colour have used them as apt similies in their poems :—

1. The flame-like gloriosa.[2]
2. The gloriosa blooming like flame.[3]

Hence its name " akniccalam ", the movement of fire or flame. These petals also reminded the poets of the flames of a wick-lamp. A *Naṟṟiṇai* poem, while describing the events that occur at sunset, mentions that in the thickets the gloriosa holds up its flowers as lamps lit by nature at dusk.[4] The Scarlet blossoms may be described in everyday language

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1. Paripādal 18 : 34-35. " கார் தோற்றும் காந்தள் "
2. Aham 218. " எரி மருள் தோன்றி "
3. Paripādal 11 : 21. தோன்றி தீயென மலரா ".
4. Naṟṟiṇai 69. " பல்வயின் தோன்றி தோன்றுபு புதல்விளக் குறுஅ ".

GLORIOSA SUPERBA

Stems slender, green, rising from an underground tuber, *leaves* usually opposite at the base of the stem, alternate higher up, narrow, without leafstalk, the tip converted into a tendril; *flowers* large, carried singly on long stalks which arise close to the leaf-axils, *sepals* and *petals* 3 each, alike, narrow, with wavy edges, at first pale yellow-green, then red in the lower half, then all red, bent sharply backwards, the long style bent at an angle to the ovary.

as being 'blood-red' in colour, and thus the word 'kuruti' (meaning 'red' or 'blood') has been used quite frequently to describe these fllowers.[5]

FLOWER OF THE HILLS

The Sankam poets describe the *kāntaḷ* as one of the most scented flowers of the hilly tracts. A lover in an attempt to describe his beloved's charm, compares her to a garland of sweet-smelling flowers. To compose this garland he chose the glamorous *gloriosa* from the hills, the pure jasmin from the meadows and the cool water-lily from the cultivable tracts[6]. A maiden claims that her hill itself had become fragrant with the scented gloriosa.[7] Another describes her home as the delightful hill slope diffused with the scent from the blooming bunch of kantal flowers.[8] A young woman in love refers to her lover's home as the high hill where the kantal diffuses its fragrance.[9]

Kurinji is the region of dark clouds and heavy showers. Mountain streams rush down the slopes and fall over rocks. Such a surrounding is ideal for the luxurious growth of this *gloriosa superba.* A *Kuṟuntokai* song describes the nature of the district where this plant flourishes.

> " The cool, fragrant kantal that grows along
> the mountain stream, fed by the dark clouds
> which gather on the high slopes ".[10]

But it also grows well in other areas during the rainy season, especially the mullai tracts next to the hill region. This is clearly indicated by the *Naṟṟiṇai* poem that describes the kāntaḷ flower as nature's lamp at dusk.[11] Other poems tell

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5. Kuṟuntokai I. "குருதிப் பூவின் குலைக்காந் தட்டே".
   Naṟṟiṇai 34. "காந்தள் குருதி யொண்பூ".
6. Kuṟuntokai 62.
7. Aiṅkuṟunūṟu 226. "நறுந்தண் சிலம்பி னறுகுலைக் காந்தள்".
8. Naṟṟiṇai 313. "காந்தள் கமழ்குலை அவிழ்ந்த நயவருஞ் சாரல்"
9. Kuṟuntokai 373. "காந்தளஞ் சிறுகுடிக் கமழும் ஓங்குமலை நாடன்".
10. Kuṟuntokai 259.
11. Naṟṟiṇai 69.

us of the *kāntaḷ* and the 'mullai growing side by side. A young hero had undertaken a journey in search of wealth. At home, his lady-love was anxious that he should travel without much difficulty and reach home in safety. Her friend, understanding her state of mind, consoles her saying:

> "Good is the path he hath taken for it has the bright red gloriosa and the jasmine, brought forth by the season of cool showers".[12]

Ahanāṉūṟu sings of these two flowers together. "The sweet scented mullai grows with the *kāntaḷ*",[13] and a shepherd wears a crown of the cool, fragrant mullai and the gloriosa.[14]

The kuṟavar of the hills worshipped Murukan who is usually referred to as Sēyōn (the Red One). Though all flowers were good enough to be offered to him, red flowers were considered most appropriate and the pretty *kāntaḷ*, a native of the hills, was his favourite. It soon became symbolic just as the *koṉṟai* and the basil (thuḷasi) became symbolic of Siva and Thirumāl respectively. In *Tirumuru-kāṟṟuppaṭai*, Sēyōn is referred to as "the one who wears on his head a garland of the flame-like gloriosa, untouched by the bees".[15] The fences around the kuravar's cottages on the slopes provided good support to the tender stems of the *kāntaḷ* plants. They thrived well and added scent and charm to those simple homes. A number of references to the "*kāntaḷ* fence" can be found in *Kuṟuntokai*

(1) The hilly country with a high *kāntaḷ*-fence.[16]
(2) The little village, *kāntaḷ*-fenced.[17]
(3) The pretty village where *kāntaḷ* grows.[18]

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12. Ainkuṟuṉūṟu 440.
13. Ahanāṉūṟu 164. "நறுவீ முல்லையொடு தோன்றி தோன்ற".
14. Ahanāṉūṟu 94.
15. Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai 43-44.
"சுரும்பு மூசாச் சுடர்ப்பூங் காந்தட்
பெருந்தண் கண்ணி மிலைந்த சென்னியன்".
16. Kuṟuntokai 76. "காந்தள் வேலி யோங்குமலை நன்னாட்டு"
17. Kuṟuntokai 100. "காந்தள் வேலிச் சிறுகுடி".
18. Kuṟuntokai 373. "காந்தளஞ் சிறுகுடிக் கமழும் ஓங்குமலை".

PRAYING HANDS

Ancient Tamil women had the pratice of painting the top half of their fingers, including the nails, red. Some even painted some simple patterns on their palms and feet. The hands thus adorned when brought together in prayer are red at the top and light-coloured at the bottom—just like the new bloom of a *kāntaḷ.* The Saṅkam poets who had observed this similarity, compared the *kāntaḷ* bloom to women's hands and women's hands to the *kāntaḷ.* The author of *Sirupāṇāṟṟuppaṭai* tells a *pāṇan* that as he and his troupe approach Velur they will see the coral-red *avarai* bloom, the dark-budded *kāyā* flowers, the ball-like buds of the *musuṇṭai* and "the rich clustered *kāntaḷ* blooming like fingers".[19] The same simile is found in *Paripādal*—"the *kāntaḷ* which has bloomed like fingers".[20] A maid describing the lord's hill mentions the clusters of *kāntaḷ* that wave in the breeze and shed their honey.

> "Clusters of honey-filled *kāntaḷ* sway in the breeze and resemble the hands of kuṟava maidens, joined in reverence to the hill god".[21]

It is interesting to note that the resemblance here is in form as well as in colour *Porunarāṟṟuppaṭai* contains descriptions of a *viṟali*—a minstrel's wife. She is gentle and pretty with long, slender fingers like *kāntaḷ's* petals and sharp, red nails like a parrot's beak.

> "Her fingers slim are like the petals of the kāntaḷ blooms that grow on tops of lofty hills. Like parrot bill seem her dainty shining finger nails".[22]

A foster-mother paying a visit to her young lady's house, finds her busy kneading the curds with her tender *kāntaḷ*-like

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19. Siṟupāṇāṟṟuppaṭai 167. "செழுங்குலைக் காந்தள் கைவிரல் பூப்பவும்".
20. Paripātal 19 : 76. "கைபோற் பூத்த கமழ்குலைக் காந்தள்".
21. Kalittokai 40 : 11-13.
22. Porunarāṟṟuppaṭai 33-34.
"நெடுவரை மிசைஇய காந்தள் மெல்விரற்
கிளிவா யொப்பி னொளிவிடு வள்ளுகிர்".

fingers to prepare a meal for her husband.[23] The rich merchants of Puhār lived in lofty spacious mansions. Whenever the frenzied dance of Murukan was performed in the city streets, their womenfolk looked out of the windows that let in the breeze and joined their bangled hands in prayer. These hands look like the bunches of new *kāntaḷ* blooms that grow on the hills and spread their pollen on the slopes.

> " They worship with bejewelled hands
> Resembling clusters that do sprout
> From kantal's joints whose blooms do spread
> Their pollen sweet on mountain slopes ".[24]

It is interesting to find that the poet should bring in the *kāntaḷ* flowers from the mountains as comparison to the hands of women who live in these mansions—especially while describing the dance performed in honour of the mountain god whose favourite flower the *kāntaḷ* is. An *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* poem depicts an interesting scene in which the *kāntaḷ* is again used as a comparison to the heroine's fingers. While a lover waited for his lady, she came stealthily from behind and covered his eyes with her tender fingers. The happy youth addresses her as

> " You, who covered my eyes with hands as
> pretty as the scented *kāntaḷ* that spreads its
> fragrance on the hill slopes ".[25]

Another poem shows a little girl who having been robbed by a monkey of her vessel full of milk and honey, cried beating her hands against her body., This reddened hee tender fingers and made them look like the petals of a full-bloomed kāntaḷ that grows on the Potiyil hill.[26] In *Paripādal* too we find the same comparison, but here thr flowers are not likened to that of maids but warriors—warri-

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23. Kuṟuntokai 167. "முளிதயிர் பிசைந்த காந்தள் மெல்விரல்".
24. Paṭṭinappālai 153-155. T. V. Chelliah, Pattupattu (1962) Pg. 39. Lines 171-174.
25. Aiṅkuṟunūṟu 293.
"சிலம்புகமழ் காந்த ணறுங்குலை யன்ன
நலம்பெறு கையினென் கண்புதைத் தோயே".
20. Naṟṟiṇai 379.

ors whose hands are bound together by their victorious opponents.

> " Like the bound hands of those defeated in
> war is the close-petalled elegance of the
> *kāntaḷ* caused by rain ".[27]

Here the resemblance is obviously in the denseness of the fingers and the petals. This simile does not seem to be an entirely Tamil one. The Chinese name for this flower is *Fou Shiu* which means, the Buddha's hand.

Sometimes the bees sit on full-grown kāntaḷ buds and wait for them to open. The poet Tolkapilar sings of this in his *Naṟṟiṇai* poem. " On the high slope where the cataract resounds the fragrant *kāntaḷ* of the ruddy hue opens when the spotted bee sucks ".[28] The opening of the flower at the bee's arrival reminds one of domestic virtues—especially hospitality. The bees seem to be the virtuous people (sāṉṟōr) of previous acquaintance.

> " Seeing the impatient bee hum, the *kāntaḷ*
> bud opens its comely petals like dutiful
> men who welcome virtuous people of earlier
> acquaintance ".[29]

The blue-black bees perched on the finger-like petals of the *gloriosa* reminds one of a fabulous ring set with a dark-blue stone and worn by a woman of charm and wealth.

> " Like a gorgeous ring on a beauty's fingers,
> perches the bee on kantal's opening bud ".[30]

The same idea is found in Iḷaṅkō's epic—Silappatikāram. Mātavi accepts the *Yāḻ* from her maid and plays on it

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27. Paripādal 18 : 34-35.
    " போர்தோற்றுக் கட்டுண்டார் கைபோல்வ கார்தோற்றும்
    காந்தள் செறிந்த கவின் ".
28. Naṟṟiṇai 399.
29. Kuṟuntokai 265.
30. Kalittokai 43 : 8-9.
    " தகையவர் கைச்செறித்த தாள்போலக் காந்தள்
    முகையின்மேல் தும்பி யிருக்கும் ".

with her slender, ringed fingers. The music roused by the *kāntaḷ*-like fingers resembled the hum of a swarm of bees.[31] These lines convey such a picture and such meaning that no translation can do full justice to them.

OTHER SIMILES

The bangles worn by Indian women are of varied designs. The *kāntaḷ* petals resemble broken bits of those with a twisted or zig-zagged pattern, and this simile is also found in Saṅkam poetry.

(i) The gloriosa blooming like broken-bangles.[32]

(ii) Bent-petalled *kāntaḷ* blossoms that appear like broken bangles.[33]

A young maiden, separated from her lover pined for him. Soon her complexion lost its brightness and her arms became too thin to hold her bangles which began to fall away. This sight reminded the poet of the *kāntaḷ* plant shaken by the breeze and shedding its pretty petals.

> " As the shaken-gloriosa shedding its petals,
> the bright bangles fall off her wrists ".[34]

The same sight brings the same simile to another poet's mind. But the reason for the *kāntaḷ* shedding its petals is not a strong breeze but the flower's end itself. The pollens have been shed and now comes its natural end.

> " In the face of the mother's strict custody,
> her gleaming bangles fall off, like the petals
> of a fading *kāntaḷ* ".[35]

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31. Silappatikāram—Kāṉalvari.
" மரகதமணித் தாள்செறிந்த மணிக்காந்தள் மெல்விரல்கள்
பயிர்வண்டின் கிளைபோலப் பன்னரம்பின் மிசைப்படர ".
32. Puṟanāṉūṟu 90. " உடைவளை கடுப்ப மலர்ந்த காந்தள் ".
33. Malaipaṭukaṭām 519. " வளையுடைந் தன்ன வள்ளிதழ்க் காந்தள் ".
34. Kalittokai 7 : 15–16.
" இவட்கே, அலங்கிதழ்க் கோடல் வீயுகு பவைபோ
லிலங்கே ரெல்வளை யிறையூ ரும்மே ".
35. Kalittokai 48 : 10–11.
" தாழ்செறி கடுங்காப்பின் தாய்முன்னர் நின்சாரல்
ஊழுறு கோடல்போல் எல்வளை யுகுபவால் ".

But the first reason shows the unrest in the girl's heart, while the second, the acceptance of the mother's strict guard over her movements as the natural outcome of her clandestine love.

These *kāntaḷ* blooms that bring to some minds such pleasant objects like well-manicured hands with ringed fingers and the lovely bangles, remind others of the frightful hood of a cobra. This is because the shape of each petal resembles the zig-zagged lines on a snake's hood. This resemblance seems to have cheated the thunder, so often heard on the hill slopes. There was a mountain stream whose water was scented and beautified by the flowers that fell from the adjoining trees and thickets. On its banks was a splendid array of the clustered gloriosa. The thunder mistaking it for a snake struck with such anger, that the whole mountain shook and resounded. Soon there was a heavy storm.[36] The poet Poṟkollaṉār has compared the movements of this flower to a snake 'dancing' and to women's fingers in the same poem. The *kāyā* tree in full bloom looked like the beautiful peacock dancing to exhibit its equisite plumes. Closeby was the *kāntaḷ* growing on the ground for want of support. Its flowers stood high on tall, tender stems and waved—like snakes frightened at the sight of a peacock. Some of these *kāntaḷ* flowers had just opened with dark bees humming around to collect the honey. These insects going up and down seemed to be the black dice used by young girls at play. The petals of the *kāntaḷ* of course resembled the rosy fingers of the playful girls.[37] Vishṇu sleeps with majesty on a serpent-bed. Athisesha, the thousand-headed snake spreads its hood with zig-zagged lines and provides him with shade. This picture of Thirumāl had found its place in his temples and the hearts of his devotees. It has reminded a poet of a familiar sight on the mountains where the elephants wander at will eating tender shoots. When they have had their fill, they stretch out their huge

36. Kalittokai 45 : 1-6.
37. Ahanāṉūṟu 108.

dark bodies and lie amidst the *kāntaḷ* plants that grow all over the slopes. The flowers bloom on long stems that reach above the sleeping elephants.

> " The god who sleeps on a serpent-bed as an elephant that reclines on the hillslope, where tall clusters of *kāntaḷ* grow ".[38]

Dark laterite rocks are common in the Kurinji districts. Quite often bunches of red gloriosa bloom near them and if one were to look from a distance it would look as though a hurt elephant was lying there, bleeding. A maid uses this picture to describe a hero's hill. There, " like the bruises of an elephant hurt in a fight, the bright red gloriosa bloom on the rocks ".[39] The big black rock acts as a contrasting background for the thin, red petals. The creamy tusks of the elephant would resemble a new *kāntaḷ* bloom when their tips are dipped in blood. A young man's hill was rich in things lovely and useful, and men and animals brave. There an elephant rested with its mate. When another came that way there was a fight between them. One thrusted its tusks deep into the flesh of the other and defeated it. Everyday there bloomed on the slopes, *kāntaḷ* flowers as beautiful as the tusks of this brave elephant

> " The strong elephant with its valour wounds the rivals face. Like its tusks the scented *kāntaḷ* daily bloom ".[40]

A *Naṟṟiṇai* poem too contains this simile. Besides, the odour of the flower is mentioned as well.

> " The red-tipped *kāntaḷ* buds, which seem like the tusks of elephants that had killed, bloom and diffuse their fragrance on the hill ".[41]

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38. Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai 372–373.
" காந்தளஞ் சிலம்பிற் களிறுபடிந் தாங்குப்
பாம்பணைப் பள்ளி யமர்ந்தோன் ".
39. Kuṟuntokai 284.
40. Kalittokai 53 : 2–5.
41. Naṟṟiṇai 247.

In another *Naṟṟiṇai* poem we find this flower compared to the lines on an elephant's forehead

> " The bright red *kāntaḷ* blooms like the lines
> on the faces of elephants in a row ".[42]

Here the comparison fits the form only. Mathuraikkaṇṇanār's comparison is an apt one and is not very common. He has used the flower to describe a cockerel's crest. The cock crowing to announce a new day had annoyed a young wife. So out of anger she cursed it, but used a pretty simile to do so.

> " O cockerel with a crest like the conical
> bunch of the bright gloriosa! May you
> become prey to the wild-kitten that looks
> for lizards at night ".[43]

The gloriosa that serves as similies to poets, was a source of comfort to a maiden in separation. It had rained on her lover's hill the previous night. In the morning, the rain-fed mountain brook washed down a gloriosa plant-bulbs and all. Seeing it, she picked it up with joy and fondly kissed the plant from his hill. She then took it home and planted it with care. The mother watched her do all this but said nothing. The plant grew well and the sight of it was a great consolation to her in her loneliness. The maid, not knowing this, commended her on her forbearance. By way of explanation she relates all that happened.

> " Listen, dear maid. The highest heaven would
> be a reward too small for mother. I fetched
> the *kāntaḷ* tuber that came one morning
> washed down by the fragrant stream fed by
> the night rain on his hill. I kissed the
> tender leaves so repeatedly that they with-
> ered, and I planted it at home. Mother
> watched me but breathed not a word ".[44]

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42. Naṟṟiṇai 176.
" நிரைத்த யானை முகத்துவரி கடுப்பப்
போதுபொதி உடைந்த ஒண்செங் காந்தள் ".
43. Kuṟuntokai 107.
44. Kuṟuntokai 361.

News and Notes

TRIBUTES TO LATE BHARATHI DASAN

The funeral of Bharathi Dasan took place here (Pondicherry) yesterday at noon. Over 50,000 people followed the bier from the Poet's residence in Perumalkoil Street to the funeral ghat. The Police Band was in attendance.

Flower wreaths and garlands were placed on the body on behalf of various associations, friends and admirers of the poet, including the Chief Minister, Mr. Goubert. A wreath on behalf of the Pondy Press Club was also presented, as Bharathi Dasan was not only a poet, but also an eminent journalist, having edited and published his daily, " Kuyil " from Pondicherry for some time. Condolence messages were received from Mr. S. L. Silam, Lieut.-Governor, Pondicherry, Mr. Kakkan, Madras Minister, Mr. E. V. Ramasamy Naicker, Leader of the Dravida Kazhagam and others.

Mr. Tirumudy Sethuraman, M.L.A., Deputy Mayor, made touching references about Bharathi Dasan's life and career. On behalf of the Tamizharasu Kazhagam, Mr. Ma. Po. Sivagnanam spoke, paying a tribute to Bharathi Dasan as a social and political revolutionary, Mr. V. Subbiah, the People's Front Opposition leader, recalled his political association with the poet, Messrs. T. K. Shanmugam, Kavignar Kannadasan, E. V. K. Sambath, Karunanidhi, N. V. Natarajan and others also spoke in appreciation of the poet's views. The Pondy merchants observed a half-day hartal as a mark of respect to Bharathi Dasan.

The Hindu, 24–4–1964

CHIEF EDITOR VISITS MAURITIUS

Mauritius Island was visited by Rev. Dr. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam in the month of July, 1964. The beautiful island of Mauritius has a multi-racial population reaching nearly 700,000 of which 74% are of Indian origin.

In order to welcome the scholar from the University of Malaya a reception committee of 20 leading personalities was formed with the Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs as Chairman. Under the auspices of Indo-Mauritian Associations, Fr. Thani Nayagam delivered four public lectures (two in English and two in Tamil) on the following subjects : " The Indian contribution to world culture " ; " The coming age and the brotherhood of men " and " Tamil Literature and Culture ". He found time to give a press conference where in a lucid manner he explained the Dravidian contribution to India and the outside world. He was also entertained by various Tamil Associations as well as Catholic Associations. The Mauritian public was extremely pleased to hear his Radio message in Tamil, French and English. Prof. Thani Nayagam was greatly impressed by the harmony one hundred thousand Tamils preserve Tamil. He also addressed the Teachers Training College in Port Louis.

He was unable to visit the Reunion islands, but he hopes to do so at a later date.

In response to an appeal to read " Tamil Culture ", we have been able to obtain 75 new subscribers for this interesting and scholarly periodical.

27–7–1964 MAURITIAN REPORTER.

BHARATHI'S POEMS IN RUSSIAN

The poems of Subramania Bharathi, the celebrated Tamil bard of freedom, are very popular in the Soviet Union. Five thousand copies of a Russian translation which appeared recently were sold out in two or three days.

The book contains about 40 of the best poems representing the different stages of his poetic development. A whole group of Soviet translators rendered in verse the word-for-word prose translation made by I. Smirnova of Leningrad, specialist in the South Indian languages.

Soviet lovers of poetry have long been acquainted with the name of the glorious fighter for Indian freedom and one of the founders of modern Tamil poetry, Bharathi being one of the first Indian intellectuals to respond to the October Socialist Revolution with a poem, " New Russia ", written in 1917.

Modern Tamil writers such as Pudumai Pithan, Kalki, R. P. Sethu Pillai, M. Varadarajanar, M. S. Venkataswami and D. Jayakanthan are well known in the Soviet Union. Short stories by Janakiraman, T. Ja. Ra., K. V. Jagannathan, Alahiriswami and Pudumai Pithan are favourites with Soviet readers. But unknown to these readers is the rich and ancient Tamil poetry.

KURAL

Kural in Russian appeared in the Soviet Union at the end of last year. Yuri Glazov, a young Soviet Dravidianist of the Institute of the Peoples of Asia of the USSR Academy of Sciences, completed after many years the Russian translation of this outstanding monument of Tamil literature. Glazov's translation has been received with satisfaction by Soviet indologists and is regarded as an important contribution to Soviet Dravidian and Tamil studies. Unfortunately the translation is raw from the poetical point of view. The Fiction and Poetry Publishing House is preparing for publication this year of a highly poetic translation of the Kural. The scientific translation will thus be supplemented by a poetic translation.

—THE ' MAIL '
Madras 4th April, '64.

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(Continued from inside front cover)

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